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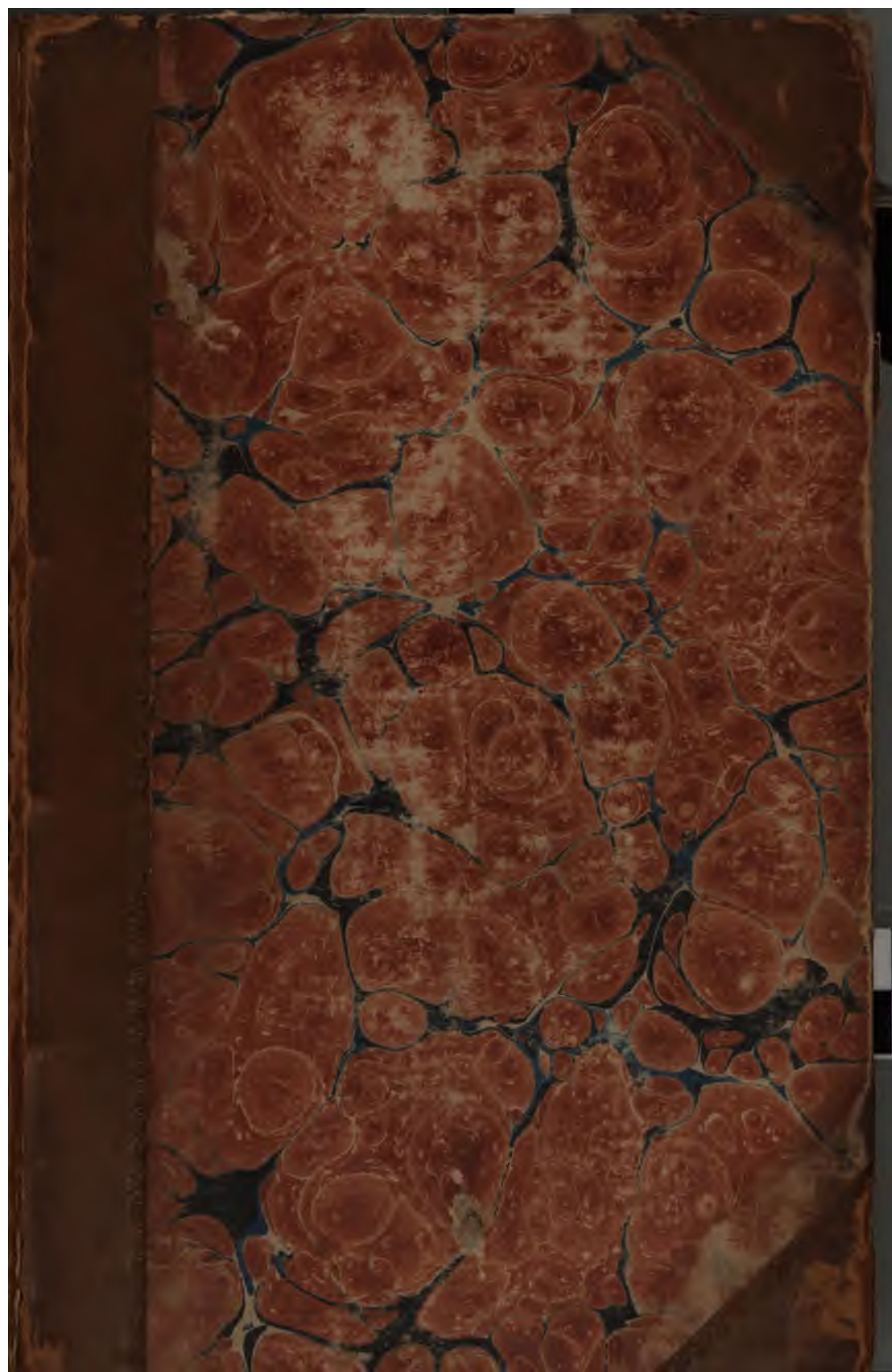
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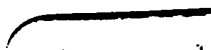
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GIBBON'S
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
DECLINE AND FALL
OF
THE ROMAN EMPIRE:

FOR THE USE OF
Families and Young Persons.

VOL. V.

LONDON :
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswood,
New-Street-Square.

GIBBON'S
HISTORY
OF THE
DECLINE AND FALL
OF
THE ROMAN EMPIRE :

FOR THE USE OF
Families and Young Persons.

REPRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL TEXT,
WITH THE CAREFUL OMISSION OF ALL PASSAGES OF AN
IRRELIGIOUS OR IMMORAL TENDENCY.

By THOMAS BOWDLER, Esq. F.R.S. S.A.

EDITOR OF THE FAMILY SHAKSPEARE.

O Hamlet ! thou hast cleft my heart in twain.
O, throw away the worser part of it ;
And live the purer with the other half.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

LONDON :

PRINTED FOR
LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1826.

348.

Ubi animus requievit, et mihi reliquam ætatem a Republica
procul habendam decrevi, non fuit consilium socordia
atque desidia bonum otium contere.



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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1962

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DECLINE AND FALL
OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER XLII.

Series of Greek Emperors, from Leo the Philosopher to Romanus Diogenes.—Victories of Nicephorus and John Zimisces.—Recovery of Crete, Cilicia, and Antioch.—Naval Enterprises of the Russians.—Ruric.—Swatoslaus threatens Constantinople, and is defeated by John Zimisces.—Origin and Progress of the Turks.—Romanus Diogenes defeated and taken Prisoner by the Sultan Alp-Arslan, 911 to 1073.

IN the Greek language *purple* and *porphyry* are the same word; and as the colours of nature are invariable, we may learn that a dark deep red was the Tyrian dye which stained the purple of the ancients. An apartment of the Byzantine palace was lined with porphyry: it was reserved for the use of the pregnant empresses; and the royal birth of their children was expressed by the appellation of porphyrogenite, or born in the purple. Several of the Roman princes had been blessed with an heir; but this peculiar surname was first applied to Constantine the Seventh. His life and titular reign were of equal duration; but of fifty-four years, six had

CHAP.
XLII.

Alexander
Constantine
VII. Por-
phyrogeni-
tus, A. D.
911, May
11.

CHAP.
XLII.

elapsed before his father's death ; and the son of Leo was ever the voluntary or reluctant subject of those who oppressed his weakness or abused his confidence. His uncle Alexander, who had long been invested with the title of Augustus, was the first colleague and governor of the young prince : but in a rapid career of vice and folly, the brother of Leo already emulated the reputation of Michael ; and when he was extinguished by a timely death, he entertained a project of mutilating his nephew, and leaving the empire to a worthless favourite. The succeeding years of the minority of Constantine were occupied by his mother Zoe, and a succession of council of seven regents, who pursued their interest, gratified their passions, abandoned the republic, supplanted each other, and finally vanished in the presence of a soldier. From an obscure origin Romanus Lecapenus had raised himself to the command of the naval armies ; and in the anarchy of the times, had deserved, or at least had obtained, the national esteem. With a victorious and affectionate fleet he sailed from the mouth of the Danube into the harbour of Constantinople, and was hailed as the deliverer of the people, and the guardian of the prince. His supreme office was at first defined by the new appellation of father of the emperor ; but Romanus soon disdained the subordinate powers of a minister, and assumed, with the titles of Cæsar and Augustus, the full independence of royalty, which he held near five-and-twenty years. His three sons, Christopher, Stephen, and Constantine, were successively adorned with the same honours, and the lawful emperor was degraded from the first to the fifth rank in this college of princes ; yet in the preservation of his life and crown, he might still applaud his own fortune and the clemency of the usurper. The examples of ancient and modern history would have excused

Romanus I.
Lecapenus.
A. D. 919,
Dec. 24.

Christopher,
Stephen,
Constantine
VIII.

the ambition of Romanus : the powers and the laws of the empire were in his hands ; the spurious birth of Constantine would have justified his exclusion, and the grave or the monastery was open to receive the son of the concubine ; but Lecapenus does not appear to have possessed either the virtues or the vices of a tyrant. The spirit and activity of his private life dissolved away in the sunshine of the throne, and in his licentious pleasures he forgot the safety both of the republic and of his family. Of a mild and religious character, he respected the sanctity of oaths, the innocence of the youth, the memory of his parents, and the attachment of the people. The studious temper and retirement of Constantine disarmed the jealousy of power : his books and music, his pen and his pencil, were a constant source of amusement ; and if he could improve a scanty allowance by the sale of his pictures, if their price was not enhanced by the name of the artist, he was endowed with a personal talent, which few princes could employ in the hour of adversity.

The fall of Romanus was occasioned by his own vices and those of his children. After the decease of Christopher, his eldest son, the two surviving brothers quarrelled with each other, and conspired against their father. At the hour of noon, when all strangers were regularly excluded from the palace, they entered his apartment with an armed force, and conveyed him, in the habit of a monk, to a small island in the Propontis, which was peopled by a religious community. The rumour of this domestic revolution excited a tumult in the city ; but Porphyrogenitus alone, the true and lawful emperor, was the object of the public care ; and the sons of Lecapenus were taught, by tardy experience, that they had achieved a guilty and perilous enterprise for the benefit of their rival. Their sister Helena, the wife

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Constantine
VII. A. D.
945, Jan.
27.

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of Constantine, revealed or supposed their treacherous design of assassinating her husband at the royal banquet. His loyal adherents were alarmed; and the two usurpers were prevented, seized, degraded from the purple, and embarked for the same island and monastery where their father had been so lately confined. Old Romanus met them on the beach with a sarcastic smile, and, after a just reproach of their folly and ingratitude, presented his imperial colleagues with an equal share of his water and vegetable diet. In the fortieth year of his reign, Constantine the Seventh obtained the possession of the Eastern world, which he ruled, or seemed to rule, near fifteen years. But he was devoid of that energy of character which could emerge into a life of action and glory; and the studies which had amused and dignified his leisure were incompatible with the serious duties of a sovereign.

The emperor neglected the practice to instruct his son Romanus in the theory of government; while he indulged the habits of intemperance and sloth, he dropt the reins of the administration into the hands of Helena his wife; and in the shifting scene of her favour and caprice each minister was regretted in the promotion of a more worthless successor. Yet the birth and misfortunes of Constantine had endeared him to the Greeks: they excused his failings; they respected his learning, his innocence and charity, his love of justice; and the ceremony of his funeral was mourned with the unfeigned tears of his subjects. The body, according to ancient custom, lay in state in the vestibule of the palace; and the civil and military officers, the patricians, the senate and the clergy, approached in due order to adore and kiss the inanimate corpse of their sovereign. Before the procession moved towards the Imperial sepulchre, a herald proclaimed this awful admonition, " Arise,

O king of the world, and obey the summons of the King of Kings.”

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The death of Constantine was imputed to poison ; and his son Romanus, who derived that name from his maternal grandfather, ascended the throne of Constantinople. A prince who, at the age of twenty, could be suspected of anticipating his inheritance, must have been already lost in the public esteem ; yet Romanus was rather weak than wicked, and the largest share of the guilt was transferred to his wife Theophano, a woman of base origin, masculine spirit, and flagitious manners. The sense of personal glory and public happiness, the true pleasures of royalty, were unknown to the son of Constantine ; and while the two brothers Nicephorus and Leo triumphed over the Saracens, the hours which the emperor owed to his people were consumed in strenuous idleness. In the morning he visited the circus ; at noon he feasted the senators ; the greater part of the afternoon he spent in the sphæristerium, or tennis-court, the only theatre of his victories : from thence he passed over to the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, hunted and killed four wild boars of the largest size, and returned to the palace, proudly content with the labours of the day. In strength and beauty he was conspicuous above his equals : tall and straight as a young cypress, his complexion was fair and florid, his eyes sparkling, his shoulders broad, his nose long and aquiline. Yet even these perfections were insufficient to fix the love of Theophano ; and after a reign of four years, she mingled for her husband the same deadly draught which she had composed for his father.

Romanus
II. junior.
A. D. 959,
Nov. 15.

By his marriage with this impious woman, Romanus the younger left two sons, Basil the Second and Constantine the Ninth, and two daughters, Theophano and Anne. The eldest sister was given

Nicephorus
II. Phocas.
A. D. 963
August 6.

CHAP. to Otho the Second, emperor of the West ; the
XLII. younger became the wife of Wolodomir, great duke and apostle of Russia, and by the marriage of her grand-daughter with Henry the First, king of France, the blood of the Macedonians, and perhaps of the Arsacides, still flows in the veins of the Bourbon line. After the death of her husband, the empress aspired to reign in the name of her sons, the elder of whom was five, and the younger only two years of age ; but she soon felt the instability of a throne, which was supported by a female who could not be esteemed, and two infant sons who could not be feared. Theophano looked around for a protector, and threw herself into the arms of the bravest soldier : her heart was capricious, but the deformity of the new favourite rendered it more than probable that interest was the motive and excuse of her love. Nicephorus Phocas united, in the popular opinion, the double merit of a hero and a saint. In the former character his qualifications were genuine and splendid : the descendant of a race illustrious by their military exploits, he had displayed in every station and in every province the courage of a soldier and the conduct of a chief ; and Nicephorus was crowned with recent laurels, from the important conquest of the isle of Crete. His religion was of a more ambiguous cast ; and his hair-cloth, his fasts, his pious idiom, and his wish to retire from the business of the world, were a convenient mask for his dark and dangerous ambition. Yet he imposed on a holy patriarch, by whose influence, and by a decree of the senate, he was intrusted, during the minority of the young princes, with the absolute and independent command of the Oriental armies. As soon as he had secured the leaders and the troops, he boldly marched to Constantinople, trampled on his enemies, avowed his correspondence with the

empress, and, without degrading her sons, assumed, with the title of Augustus, the pre-eminence of rank and the plenitude of power. But his marriage with Theophano was refused by the same patriarch who had placed the crown on his head: by his second nuptials he incurred a year of canonical penance; a bar of spiritual affinity was opposed to their celebration, and some evasion and perjury were required to silence the scruples of the clergy and people. The popularity of the emperor was lost in the purple; in a reign of six years he provoked the hatred of strangers and subjects, and the hypocrisy and avarice of the first Nicephorus were revived in his successor. Hypocrisy I shall never justify or palliate; but I will dare to observe that the odious vice of avarice is of all others most hastily arraigned and most unmercifully condemned. In a private citizen, our judgment seldom expects an accurate scrutiny into his fortune and expense; and in a steward of the public treasure frugality is always a virtue, and the increase of taxes too often an indispensable duty. In the use of his patrimony, the generous temper of Nicephorus had been proved, and the revenue was strictly applied to the service of the state: each spring the emperor marched in person against the Saracens; and every Roman might compute the employment of his taxes in triumphs, conquests, and the security of the eastern barrier.

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Among the warriors who promoted his elevation and served under his standard, a noble and valiant Armenian had deserved and obtained the most eminent rewards. The stature of John Zimisces was below the ordinary standard; but this diminutive body was endowed with strength, beauty, and the soul of a hero. By the jealousy of the emperor's brother, he was degraded from the office of general of the East to that of director of the posts, and his

John Zimisces, Basil II. Constantine IX. A. D. 969, Dec. 25.

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murmurs were chastised with disgrace and exile. But Zimisces was ranked among the numerous lovers of the empress; on her intercession he was permitted to reside at Chalcedon, in the neighbourhood of the capital: her bounty was repaid in his clandestine and amorous visits to the palace; and Theophano consented, with alacrity, to the death of an ugly and penurious husband. Some bold and trusty conspirators were concealed in her most private chambers; in the darkness of a winter night, Zimisces with his principal companions embarked in a small boat, traversed the Bosphorus, landed at the palace stairs, and silently ascended a ladder of ropes, which was cast down by the female attendants. Neither his own suspicions, nor the warnings of his friends, nor the tardy aid of his brother Leo, nor the fortress which he had erected in the palace, could protect Nicephorus from a domestic foe, at whose voice every door was open to the assassins. As he slept on a bear skin, on the ground, he was roused by their noisy intrusion, and thirty daggers glittered before his eyes. It is doubtful whether Zimisces imbrued his hands in the blood of his sovereign, but he enjoyed the inhuman spectacle of revenge. The murder was protracted by insult and cruelty; and as soon as the head of Nicephorus was shown from the window, the tumult was hushed, and the Armenian was emperor of the East. On the day of his coronation, he was stopped on the threshold of St. Sophia by the intrepid patriarch, who charged his conscience with the deed of treason and blood, and required as a sign of repentance that he should separate himself from his more criminal associate. This sally of apostolic zeal was not offensive to the prince, since he could neither love nor trust a woman who had repeatedly violated the most sacred obligations; and Theophano, instead of sharing his Im-

perial fortune, was dismissed with ignominy from his bed and palace. In their last interview she displayed a frantic and impotent rage, accused the ingratitude of her lover, assaulted with words and blows her son Basil, as he stood silent and submissive in the presence of a superior colleague, and avowed her own prostitution in proclaiming the illegitimacy of his birth. The public indignation was appeased by her exile and the punishment of the meaner accomplices: the death of an unpopular prince was forgiven, and the guilt of Zimisces was forgotten in the splendour of his virtues. Perhaps his profusion was less useful to the state than the avarice of Nicephorus; but his gentle and generous behaviour delighted all who approached his person; and it was only in the paths of victory that he trod in the footsteps of his predecessor.

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In the declining age of the caliphs, in the century which elapsed after the war of Theophilus and Motassem, the hostile transactions of the two nations were confined to some inroads by sea and land, the fruits of their close vicinity and indelible hatred. But when the Eastern world was convulsed and broken, the Greeks were roused from their lethargy by the hopes of conquest and revenge. The Byzantine empire, since the accession of the Basilian race, had reposed in peace and dignity; and they might encounter with their entire strength the front of some petty emir, whose rear was assaulted and threatened by his national foes of the Mahometan faith. The lofty titles of "the morning star," and "the death of the Saracens," were applied in the public acclamations to Nicephorus Phocas; a prince as renowned in the camp as he was unpopular in the city. In the subordinate station of great domestic, or general of the East, he reduced the island of Crete, and extirpated the nest of pirates who had so long

Enterprises
of the
Greeks.
A. D. 960.

Reduction
of Crete.

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defied with impunity the majesty of the empire. His military genius was displayed in the conduct and success of the enterprise, which had so often failed with loss and dishonour. The Saracens were confounded by the landing of his troops on safe and level bridges, which he cast from the vessels to the shore. Seven months were consumed in the siege of Candia: the despair of the native Cretans was stimulated by the frequent aid of their brethren of Africa and Spain; and after the massy wall and double ditch had been stormed by the Greeks, a hopeless conflict was still maintained in the streets and houses of the city. The whole island was subdued in the capital. Constantinople applauded the long forgotten pomp of a triumph; but the Imperial diadem was the sole reward that could repay the services, or satisfy the ambition, of Nicephorus.

The Eastern
conquests of
Nicephorus.
Phocas and
John Zimis-
ces. A. D.
963—975.

After the death of the young Romanus, the fourth in lineal descent of the Basilian race, his widow Theophano successively married Nicephorus Phocas and his assassin John Zimisces, the two heroes of the age. They reigned as the guardians and colleagues of her infant sons; and the twelve years of their military command form the most splendid period of the Byzantine annals. The subjects and confederates whom they led to war appeared, at least in the eyes of an enemy, two hundred thousand strong; and of these about thirty thousand were armed with cuirasses: a train of four thousand mules attended their march, and their evening camp was regularly fortified with an inclosure of iron spikes. A series of bloody and undecisive combats is nothing more than an anticipation of what would have been effected in a few years by the course of nature; but I shall briefly prosecute the conquests of the two emperors from the hills of Cappadocia to the desert of Bagdad.

Conquest of
Cilicia.

The sieges of Mopsuestia and Tarsus in Cilicia

first exercised the skill and perseverance of their troops, on whom, at this moment, I shall not hesitate to bestow the name of Romans. In the double city of Mopsuestia, which is divided by the river Sarus, two hundred thousand Moslems were predestined to death or slavery : a surprising degree of population, which must at least include the inhabitants of the dependent districts. They were surrounded, and taken by assault ; but Tarsus was reduced by the slow progress of famine ; and no sooner had the Saracens yielded on honourable terms, than they were mortified by the distant and unprofitable view of the naval succours of Egypt. They were dismissed with a safe-conduct to the confines of Syria : a part of the old Christians had quietly lived under their dominion, and the vacant habitations were replenished by a new colony. But the mosch was converted into a stable ; the pulpit was delivered to the flames : many rich crosses of gold and gems, the spoils of Asiatic churches, were made a grateful offering to the piety or avarice of the emperor ; and he transported the gates of Mopsuestia and Tarsus, which were fixed in the wall of Constantinople, an eternal monument of his victory. After they had forced and secured the narrow passes of Mount Amanus, the two Roman princes repeatedly carried their arms into the heart of Syria. Yet instead of assaulting the walls of Antioch, the humanity or superstition of Nicephorus appeared to respect the ancient metropolis of the East : he contented himself with drawing round the city a line of circumvallation ; left a stationary army, and instructed his lieutenant to expect, without impatience, the return of spring. But in the depth of winter, in a dark and rainy night, an adventurous subaltern, with three hundred soldiers, approached the rampart, applied his scaling ladders, occupied two adjacent towers, stood firm

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Recovery of
Antioch.

against the pressure of multitudes, and bravely maintained his post till he was relieved by the tardy, though effectual, support of his reluctant chief.

The first tumult of slaughter and rapine subsided ; and the efforts of a hundred thousand Saracens, of the armies of Syria and the fleets of Afric, were consumed without effect before the walls of Antioch. The royal city of Aleppo was subject to Seifeddowlat, of the dynasty of Hamadan, who clouded his past glory by the precipitate retreat which abandoned his kingdom and capital to the Roman invaders. In his stately palace, that stood without the walls of Aleppo, they joyfully seized a well-furnished magazine of arms, a stable of fourteen hundred mules, and three hundred bags of silver and gold. But the walls of the city withstood the strokes of their battering rams, and the besiegers pitched their tents on the neighbouring mountain of Jaushan. Their retreat exasperated the quarrel of the townsmen and mercenaries ; the guard of the gates and ramparts was deserted ; and while they furiously charged each other in the market-place, they were surprised and destroyed by the sword of a common enemy. The male sex was exterminated by the sword ; ten thousand youths were led into captivity : the weight of the precious spoil exceeded the strength and number of the beasts of burthen, the superfluous remainder was burnt ; and after a licentious possession of ten days, the Romans marched away from the naked and bleeding city. In their Syrian inroads they commanded the husbandmen to cultivate their lands, that they themselves, in the ensuing season, might reap the benefit : more than a hundred cities were reduced to obedience, and eighteen pulpits of the principal moschs were committed to the flames, to expiate the sacrilege of the disciples of Mahomet. The classic names of Hierapolis, Apamea, and Emesa,

revive for a moment in the list of conquests : the emperor Zimisce encamped in the paradise of Damascus, and accepted the ransom of a submissive people ; and the torrent was only stopped by the impregnable fortress of Tripoli, on the sea coast of Phœnicia. Since the days of Heraclius, the Euphrates below the passage of Mount Taurus had been impervious, and almost invisible to the Greeks. The river yielded a free passage to the victorious Zimisce ; and the historian may imitate the speed with which he overran the once famous cities of Samosata, Edessa, Martyropolis, Amida, and Nisibis, the ancient limit of the empire in the neighbourhood of the Tigris. His ardour was quickened by the desire of grasping the virgin treasures of Ecbatana—a well-known name, under which the Byzantine writer has concealed the capital of the Abbassides. The consternation of the fugitives had already diffused the terror of his name ; but the fancied riches of Bagdad had already been dissipated by the avarice and prodigality of domestic tyrants. The prayers of the people, and the stern demands of the lieutenant of the Bowides, required the caliph to provide for the defence of the city. The helpless Mothi replied, that his arms, his revenues, and his provinces had been torn from his hands, and that he was ready to abdicate a dignity which he was unable to support. The emir was inexorable ; the furniture of the palace was sold ; and the paltry price of forty thousand pieces of gold was instantly consumed in private luxury. But the apprehensions of Bagdad were relieved by the retreat of the Greeks ; thirst and hunger guarded the desert of Mesopotamia ; and the emperor, satiated with glory and laden with oriental spoils, returned to Constantinople, and displayed in his triumph the silk, the aromatics, and the three hundred myriads of gold and silver : yet the powers

Danger of
Bagdad.

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of the East had been bent, not broken, by this transient hurricane. After the departure of the Greeks, the fugitive princes returned to their capitals; the subjects disclaimed their involuntary oaths of allegiance: and of these extensive conquests, Antioch, with the cities of Cilicia, and the isle of Cyprus, were alone restored—a permanent and useful accession to the Roman empire*.

Origin of
the Russian
monarchy.

But the triumphs of Zimisce were not confined to the Eastern provinces. Constantinople, under the government of Nicephorus, was threatened by the Russians. The name of that nation was first divulged in the ninth century, by an embassy from Theophilus, emperor of the East, to Lewis, the son of Charlemagne. The Greeks were accompanied by the envoys of the great duke, or chagan, or czar, of the Russians. The Scandinavian origin of the people, or at least the princes of Russia, may be confirmed and illustrated by the general history of the North. The vast, and as it is said, populous regions of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, were crowded with independent chieftains and desperate adventurers. Piracy was the exercise, the trade, the glory, and the virtue of the Scandinavian youth; and the primitive Russians of the Lake Ladoga paid as a tribute the skins of white squirrels to these strangers, whom they saluted with the title of Varangians, or corsairs: till,

Ruric, 862. at length, Ruric, a Scandinavian chief, became, in the year 862, the father of a dynasty which reigned

Varangians. above seven hundred years. Contemporary writers have recorded the introduction, name, and character of the Varangians at Constantinople. There they rose in confidence and esteem, and performed the

* See the Annals of Elmakin, Abulpharagius, and Abulfeda, from A. H. 351 to A. H. 361; and the reigns of Nicephorus Phocas, and John Zimisce, in the Chronicles of Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 199, l. xvii. 215), and Cedrenus (Compend. p. 649—684). Their manifold defects are partly supplied by the manuscript history of Leo the Deacon, which Pagi obtained from the Benedictines, and has inserted almost entire in a Latin version (Critica, tom. iii. p. 873, tom. iv. p. 37).

duty of guards. Their strength was recruited by a numerous band of their countrymen from the island of Thule. On this occasion the vague appellation of Thule is applied to England; and the new Varangians were a colony of English and Danes, who fled from the yoke of the Norman conqueror. These exiles were entertained in the Byzantine court, and they preserved till the last age of the empire the inheritance of spotless loyalty, and the use of the Danish or English tongue. The Greek emperor slept and feasted under their trusty guard; and the keys of the palace, the treasury, and the capital, were held by the firm and faithful hands of the Varangians*. In the tenth century the monarchy of the Russians obtains a vast and conspicuous place in the map of Constantine† Porphyrogenitus. Under the sons of Ruric they followed the course of the Borysthenes, and approached with that river the neighbourhood of the Euxine Sea. In a period of 190 years the Russians, from the mouth of this river, made several predatory attempts to plunder the treasures of Constantinople, and the coasts of the neighbouring provinces. The memory of these Arctic fleets left a deep impression of terror on the Imperial city; and by the vulgar of every rank it was asserted and believed, that an equestrian statue in the square of Taurus was secretly inscribed with the prophecy, that the Russians in the last days should become masters of Constantinople. Swatoslaus, the fourth in descent, and the most distinguished of the successors of Ruric, was induced, by an embassy from Nicephorus, the Greek emperor, and by a gift of

Naval expeditions of the Russians.

Reign of Swatoslaus, A. D. 955—973.

* Du Cange has collected from the original authors the state and history of the Varangi at Constantinople (Glossar. Med. et Infimæ Græcitatæ), sub voce Βαραγγοι, Med. et Infimæ Latinitatis, sub voce *Vagri*. Saxo-Grammaticus affirms that they spoke Danish, but Codinus maintains them till the fifteenth century in the use of their native English. Πολυχρονίζουσι οι Βαραγγοι κατα των πατριον γλωσσων αυτων ητοι Ιγκληνησι.

† The original record of the geography and trade of Russia is produced by the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (de Administrat. Imperii).

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His defeat
by John
Zimisce,
970—973.

1500 pounds of gold, to undertake the conquest of Bulgaria. He subdued and ravaged that country as far as Mount Hæmus; but instead of relinquishing his prey, and performing his engagements, the Russian prince was disposed to advance instead of retreating: and had his ambition been crowned with success, the seat of his empire, in that early period, might have been transferred to a more temperate and fruitful clime. From the banks of the Danube, Swatoslaus pursued his march as far as Adrianople. A formal summons to evacuate the Roman province was dismissed with contempt, and the Russian monarch fiercely replied, that Constantinople might soon expect the presence of an enemy and a master. But John Zimisce, who now became her sovereign, possessed in a diminutive body the spirit and abilities of a hero: the first victory of his lieutenants deprived the Russians of their foreign allies, 20,000 of whom were either destroyed by the sword, or provoked to revolt, or tempted to desert. Thrace was delivered, but 70,000 Barbarians were still in arms; and the legions that had been recalled from the new conquests of Syria prepared, with the return of the spring, to march under the banners of a warlike prince, who declared himself the friend and avenger of the injured Bulgaria. The passes of Mount Hæmus had been left unguarded: they were instantly occupied; the Roman vanguard was formed of the immortals (a proud imitation of the Persian style); the emperor led the main body of 10,500 foot, and the rest of his forces followed in slow and cautious array with the baggage and military engines. The first exploit of Zimisce was the reduction of Marcianopolis, or Peristhlaba: in two days the trumpets sounded, the walls were scaled, 8,500 Russians were put to the sword, and the sons of the Bulgarian king were rescued from an ignominious prison, and

invested with a nominal diadem. After these repeated losses, Swatoslaus retired to the strong post of Dristra, on the banks of the Danube, and was pursued by an enemy who alternately employed the arms of celerity and delay. The Byzantine galleys ascended the river; the legions completed a line of circumvallation; and the Russian prince was encompassed, assaulted, and famished, in the fortifications of the camp and city. Many deeds of valour were performed, several desperate sallies were attempted; nor was it till after a siege of sixty-five days, that Swatoslaus yielded to his adverse fortune. The liberal terms which he obtained announce the prudence of the victor, who respected the valour, and apprehended the despair of an unconquered mind. The great duke of Russia bound himself by solemn imprecations to relinquish all hostile designs: a safe passage was opened for his return, the liberty of trade and navigation was restored, a measure of corn was distributed to each of his soldiers, and the allowance of 22,000 measures attests the loss and the remnant of the Barbarians. After a painful voyage they again reached the mouth of the Borysthenes, but their provisions were exhausted, the season was unfavourable; they passed the winter on the ice; and before they could prosecute their march, Swatoslaus was surprised and oppressed by the neighbouring tribes, with whom the Greeks entertained a perpetual and useful correspondence. Far different was the return of Zimisces, who was received in his capital like Camillus, or Marius, the saviours of ancient Rome. Zimisces made his public entry on horseback, the diadem on his head, a crown of laurel in his hand; and Constantinople was astonished to applaud the martial virtues of her sovereign. The greatest part of the reign of Zimisces was employed in the camp and the field; his personal valour and activity were signalised

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on the Danube and the Tigris, the ancient boundaries of the Roman world; and by his double triumph over the Russians and the Saracens, he deserved the title of Saviour of the Empire, and Conqueror of the East. In his last return from Syria he observed that the most fruitful lands of his new provinces were possessed by the eunuchs. "And is it for them," he exclaimed with honest indignation, "that we have fought and conquered? Is it for them that we shed our blood, and exhaust the treasures of our people?" The complaint was re-echoed to the palace, and the death of Zimisces is strongly marked with the suspicion of poison.

Basil II.
and Con-
stantine IX.
A. D. 976,
Jan. 10.

Under this usurpation, or regency, of twelve years, the two lawful emperors, Basil and Constantine, had silently grown to the age of manhood. Their tender years had been incapable of dominion: the respectful modesty of their attendance and salutation was due to the age and merit of their guardians; the childless ambition of those guardians had no temptation to violate their right of succession: their patrimony was ably and faithfully administered; and the premature death of Zimisces was a loss rather than a benefit to the sons of Romanus. Their want of experience detained them twelve years longer the obscure and voluntary pupils of a minister, who extended his reign by persuading them to indulge the pleasures of youth, and to disdain the labours of government. In this silken web the weakness of Constantine was for ever entangled; but his elder brother felt the impulse of genius, and the desire of action; he frowned, and the minister was no more. Basil was the acknowledged sovereign of Constantinople, and the provinces of Europe; but Asia was oppressed by two veteran generals, Phocas and Sclerus, who, alternately friends and enemies, subjects and rebels, maintained their independence, and laboured to emulate the ex-

ample of successful usurpation. Against these domestic enemies the son of Romanus first drew his sword, and they trembled in the presence of a lawful and high-spirited prince. The first, in the front of battle, was thrown from his horse by the stroke of poison, or an arrow : the second, who had been twice loaded with chains, and twice invested with the purple, was desirous of ending in peace the small remainder of his days. As the aged suppliant approached the throne, with dim eyes and faltering steps, leaning on his two attendants, the emperor exclaimed, in the insolence of youth and power, " And is this the man who has so long been the object of our terror ?" After he had confirmed his own authority, and the peace of the empire, the trophies of Nicophorus and Zimisces would not suffer their royal pupil to sleep in the palace. His long and frequent expeditions against the Saracens were rather glorious than useful to the empire ; but the final destruction of the kingdom of Bulgaria appears, since the time of Belisarius, the most important triumph of the Roman arms. Yet, instead of applauding their victorious prince, his subjects detested the rapacious and rigid avarice of Basil ; and in the imperfect narrative of his exploits, we can only discern the courage, patience, and ferociousness of a soldier. A vicious education, which could not subdue his spirit, had clouded his mind ; he was ignorant of every science ; and the remembrance of his learned and feeble grand-sire might encourage a real or affected contempt of laws and lawyers, of artists and arts. In the sixty-eighth year of his age, his martial spirit urged him to embark in person for a holy war against the Saracens of Sicily ; he was prevented by death, and Basil, surnamed the Slayer of the Bulgarians, was dismissed from the world.

After his decease his brother Constantine enjoyed

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Constantine
IX. A. D.
1025, Dec.

about three years the power, or rather the pleasures, of royalty ; and his only care was the settlement of the succession. He had enjoyed sixty-six years the title of Augustus ; and the reign of the two brothers is the longest and most obscure of the Byzantine history.

Romanus
III. Argy-
rus, A. D.
1028, Nov.
12.

A lineal succession of five emperors, in a period of one hundred and sixty years, had attached the loyalty of the Greeks to the Macedonian dynasty, which had been thrice respected by the usurpers of their power. After the death of Constantine the Ninth, the last male of the royal race, a new and broken scene presents itself, and the accumulated years of twelve emperors do not equal the space of his single reign. His elder brother had preferred his private chastity to the public interest, and Constantine himself had only three daughters ; Eudocia, who took the veil, and Zoe and Theodora, who were preserved till a mature age in a state of ignorance and virginity. When their marriage was discussed in the council of their dying father, Theodora refused to give an heir to the empire, but her sister Zoe presented herself a willing victim at the altar. Romanus Argyrus, a patrician of a graceful person, and fair reputation, was chosen for her husband ; and on his declining that honour, was informed that blindness or death was the second alternative. The motive of his reluctance was conjugal affection, but his faithful wife sacrificed her own happiness to his safety and greatness, and her entrance into a monastery removed the only bar to the imperial nuptials. After the decease of Constantine the sceptre devolved to Romanus the Third ; but the mature age, the forty-eight years of Zoe, were less favourable to the hopes of pregnancy than to criminal indulgence. Her favourite chamberlain was a handsome Paphlagonian, of the name of Michael, whose first trade had been that of a money-changer ; and

Romanus either connived at their criminal intercourse, or accepted a slight assurance of their innocence. But Zoe soon justified the Roman maxim, that every adulteress is capable of poisoning her husband; and the death of Romanus was instantly followed by the scandalous marriage and elevation of Michael the Fourth. The expectations of Zoe were, however, disappointed: instead of a grateful lover, she had placed in her bed a miserable wretch, whose health and reason were impaired by epileptic fits, and whose conscience was tormented by despair and remorse. The most skilful physicians of the mind and body were summoned to his aid, and his hopes were amused by frequent pilgrimages to the baths, and to the tombs of the most popular saints; the monks applauded his penance, and except restitution, (but to whom should he have restored?) Michael sought every method of expiating his guilt. While he groaned and prayed in sackcloth and ashes, his brother, the eunuch John, smiled at his remorse, and enjoyed the harvest of a crime, of which himself was the secret and most guilty author. His administration was only the art of satiating his avarice, and Zoe became a captive in the palace of her fathers, and in the hands of her slaves. When he perceived the irretrievable decline of his brother's health, he introduced his nephew, another Michael, who derived his surname of Calaphates from his father's occupation in the careening of vessels: at the command of the eunuch, Zoe adopted for her son the son of a mechanic; and this fictitious heir was invested with the title and purple of the Cæsars, in the presence of the senate and clergy. So feeble was the character of Zoë, that she was oppressed by the liberty and power which she had recovered by the death of the Paphlagonian; and at the end of four days she placed the crown on the head of Michael the Fifth, who had

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Michael IV.
the Paphla-
gonian,
A. D. 1034,
April 11.

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Michael V.
Calaphates,
A.D. 1041,
Dec. 14.

Zoe and
Theodora,
A.D. 1042,
April 21.

Constantine
X. Mono-
machus,
A.D. 1042,
June 11.

protested that he should ever reign the first and most obedient of her subjects. The only act of his short reign was his base ingratitude to his benefactors, the eunuch and the empress. The disgrace of the former was pleasing to the public ; but the murmurs, and at length the clamours, of Constantinople, deplored the exile of Zoe, the daughter of so many emperors : her vices were forgotten, and Michael was taught that there is a period in which the patience of the tamest slaves rises into fury and revenge. The citizens of every degree assembled in a formidable tumult, which lasted three days ; they besieged the palace, forced the gates, recalled their *mother* Zoe from her prison, Theodora from her monastery, and condemned the son of Calaphates to the loss of his eyes, or of his life. For the first time the Greeks beheld with surprise the two royal sisters seated on the same throne, presiding in the senate, and giving audience to the ambassadors of the nations. But this singular union subsisted no more than two months ; the two sovereigns, their tempers, interests, and adherents, were secretly hostile to each other ; and as Theodora was still adverse to marriage, Zoe, at the age of sixty, consented for the public good to sustain the embraces of a third husband, and the censures of the Greek church. His name and number were Constantine the Tenth, and the epithet of Monomachus, the single combatant, must have been expressive of his valour and victory in some public or private quarrel. But his health was broken by the tortures of the gout, and his dissolute reign was spent in the alternative of sickness and pleasure. A fair and noble widow had accompanied Constantine in his exile to the isle of Lesbos, and Sclerena gloried in the appellation of his mistress. After his marriage and elevation, she was invested with the title and pomp of Augusta, and occupied a contiguous apart-

ment in the palace. The lawful consort (such was the delicacy or corruption of Zoe) consented to this strange and scandalous partition; and the emperor appeared in public between his wife and his concubine. He survived them both; but the last measures of Constantine, to change the order of succession, were prevented by the more vigilant friends of Theodora; and after his decease she resumed, with the general consent, the possession of her inheritance. In her name, and by the influence of four eunuchs, the Eastern world was peaceably governed about nineteen months; and as they wished to prolong their dominion, they persuaded the aged princess to nominate for her successor Michael the Sixth. The surname of Stratioticus declares his military profession; but the crazy and decrepit veteran could only see with the eyes, and execute with the hands, of his ministers. Whilst he ascended the throne, Theodora sank into the grave; the last of the Macedonian, or Basilian dynasty. I have hastily reviewed, and gladly dismiss, this shameful and destructive period of twenty-eight years, in which the Greeks, degraded below the common level of servitude, were transferred like a herd of cattle by the choice or caprice of two impotent females.

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Theodora,
A. D. 1054,
Nov. 30.

Michael VI.
Stratioticus,
A. D. 1056,
Aug. 22.

From this night of slavery a ray of freedom, or at least of spirit, begins to emerge: the Greeks either preserved or revived the use of surnames, which perpetuate the fame of hereditary virtue; and we now discern the rise, succession, and alliance of the last dynasties of Constantinople and Trebizond. The Comneni, who upheld for a while the fate of the sinking empire, assumed the honour of a Roman origin; but the family had been long since transported from Italy to Asia. Their patrimonial estate was situate in the district of Castamona, in the neighbourhood of the Euxine; and one of their chiefs,

Isaac I.
Comnenus,
A. D. 1057,
Aug. 31.

who had already entered the paths of ambition, revisited with affection, perhaps with regret, the modest though honourable dwelling of his fathers. The first of their line was the illustrious Manuel, who, in the reign of the second Basil, contributed by war and treaty to appease the troubles of the East : he left in a tender age two sons, Isaac and John, whom, with the consciousness of desert, he bequeathed to the gratitude and favour of his sovereign. The noble youths were carefully trained in the learning of the monastery, the arts of the palace, and the exercises of the camp : and from the domestic service of the guards, they were rapidly promoted to the command of provinces and armies. Their fraternal union doubled the force and reputation of the Comneni, and their ancient nobility was illustrated by the marriage of the two brothers, with a captive princess of Bulgaria and the daughter of a patrician, who had obtained the name of Charon, from the number of enemies whom he had sent to the infernal shades. The soldiers had served with reluctant loyalty a series of effeminate masters, the elevation of Michael the Sixth was a personal insult to the more deserving generals, and their discontent was inflamed by the parsimony of the emperor, and the insolence of the eunuchs. They secretly assembled in the sanctuary of St. Sophia, and the votes of the military synod would have been unanimous in favour of the old and valiant Catacalon, if the patriotism or modesty of the veteran had not suggested the importance of birth as well as merit in the choice of a sovereign. Isaac Comnenus was approved by general consent ; and the associates separated, without delay to meet in the plains of Phrygia, at the head of their respective squadrons and detachments. The cause of Michael was defended in a single battle by the mercenaries of the imperial guard, who were aliens to the public in-

terest, and animated only by a principle of honour and gratitude. After their defeat, the fears of the emperor solicited a treaty, which was almost accepted by the moderation of the Comnenian : but the former was betrayed by his ambassadors, and the latter was prevented by his friends. The solitary Michael submitted to the voice of the people, and by the hands of the patriarch Isaac Comnenus was solemnly crowned : the sword, which he inscribed on his coins, might be an offensive symbol, if it implied his title by conquest ; but this sword would have been drawn against the foreign and domestic enemies of the state. The decline of his health and vigour suspended the operation of active virtue, and the prospect of approaching death determined him to interpose some moments between life and eternity. But instead of leaving the empire as the marriage portion of his daughter, his reason and inclination concurred in the preference of his brother John, a soldier, a patriot, and the father of five sons, the future pillars of an hereditary succession. His first modest reluctance might be the natural dictate of discretion and tenderness, but his obstinate and successful perseverance, however it may dazzle with the show of virtue, must be censured as a criminal desertion of his duty, and a rare offence against his family and country. The purple which he had refused was accepted by Constantine Ducas, a friend of the Comnenian house, and whose noble birth was adorned with the experience and reputation of civil policy. In the monastic habit Isaac recovered his health, and survived two years his voluntary abdication. At the command of his abbot, he observed the rule of St. Basil, and executed the most servile offices of the convent ; but his latent vanity was gratified by the frequent and respectful visits of the reigning monarch, who revered in his person the character of a benefactor and a saint.

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XLII.Constantine
XL. Ducas,
A. D. 1059,
Dec. 25.Eudocia,
A. D. 1067,
May.

If Constantine the Eleventh were indeed the subject most worthy of empire, we must pity the debasement of the age and nation in which he was chosen. In the labour of puerile declamations he sought, without obtaining, the crown of eloquence, more precious, in his opinion, than that of Rome; and, in the subordinate functions of a judge, he forgot the duties of a sovereign and a warrior. Far from imitating the patriotic indifference of the authors of his greatness, Ducas was anxious only to secure, at the expense of the republic, the power and prosperity of his children. His three sons, Michael the Seventh, Andronicus the First, and Constantine the Twelfth, were invested in a tender age with the equal title of Augustus; and the succession was speedily opened by their father's death. His widow Eudocia was intrusted with the administration; but experience had taught the jealousy of the dying monarch to protect his sons from the danger of her second nuptials; and her solemn engagement, attested by the principal senators, was deposited in the hands of the patriarch. Before the end of seven months, the wants of the state called aloud for the male virtues of a soldier; and her heart had already chosen Romanus Diogenes, whom she raised from the scaffold to the throne. The discovery of a treasonable attempt had exposed him to the severity of the laws: his beauty and valour absolved him in the eyes of the empress; and Romanus, from a mild exile, was recalled on the second day to the command of the Oriental armies. Her royal choice was yet unknown to the public, and the promise, which would have betrayed her falsehood and levity, was stolen by a dexterous emissary from the ambition of the patriarch. Xiphilin at first alleged the sanctity of oaths and the sacred nature of a trust; but a whisper that his brother was the future emperor relaxed his scruples, and forced him to con-

fess that the public safety was the supreme law. He resigned the important paper; and when his hopes were confounded by the nomination of Romanus, he could no longer regain his security, retract his declarations, nor oppose the second nuptials of the empress. Yet a murmur was heard in the palace; and the Barbarian guards had raised their battle-axes in the cause of the house of Ducas, till the young princes were soothed by the tears of their mother, and the solemn assurances of the fidelity of their guardian, who filled the imperial station with dignity and honour.-- I shall next relate his valiant but unsuccessful efforts to resist the progress of the Turks.

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Romanus
III. Diogenes,
A. D. 1067,
August.

A new and a formidable enemy now invaded the eastern provinces of the empire. Since the decline of the caliphs, the discord and degeneracy of the Saracens respected the Asiatic provinces of Rome, which, by the victories of Nicephorus, Zimisces, and Basil, had been extended as far as Antioch and the eastern boundaries of Armenia. Twenty-five years after the death of Basil, his successors were suddenly attacked by an unknown race of barbarian shepherds, the Turks or Turkmans, who emigrated from beyond the Caspian Sea, and united the Scythian valour with the fanaticism of new proselytes. As the progress of our history has brought us to the nation by which Constantinople was finally subdued, it may be proper to say a few words respecting the origin and progress of its conquerors.

The Scythian empire of the sixth century was long since dissolved, but fragments of the nation (each a powerful and independent people) were scattered over the desert from China to the Oxus and the Danube, where a colony of Hungarians were admitted into the republic of Europe. A swarm of these northern shepherds overspread Persia; their princes of the house

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of Seljuk erected a splendid and solid empire, from Samarcand to the confines of Greece and Egypt, and the Turks maintained their dominion in Asia Minor till the victorious crescent was planted on the dome of St. Sophia. One of the greatest princes of that age was Mahmood or Mahmud *, the Gaznevide who reigned in the eastern provinces of Persia from 997 to 1028. For him the title of sultan was first invented, and his kingdom was enlarged from Transoxiana to the neighbourhood of Ispahan, from the shores of the Caspian to the mouth of the Indus. He surpassed the boundaries of the conquests of Alexander. Delhi, Lahore, and Moultan, were compelled to open their gates, and the fertile kingdom of Guzerad was subdued. Massoud, the son and successor of Mahmood, experienced a reverse of fortune. He was defeated by emigrants of the eastern Turk-mans †, and the memorable day of Zendecan founded in Persia the dynasty of the Shepherd Kings. The victorious Turk-mans proceeded to the election of a sovereign; and if the probable tale of a Latin historian may be credited, it was by lot of arrows ‡ that the important prize was assigned to Togrul Beg, the grandson of Seljuk, whose surname has been immortalized by the greatness of his posterity. By the arms of Togrul the Gaznevites were driven from Persia to the Indus, the dynasty of the Bowides was annihilated, and the sceptre of Irak passed from the Persian to the Turkish nation. By the conquest of

* I am indebted for his character and history to D'Herbelot (*Bibliothèque Orientale*, *Mahmud*, p. 533—537), M. de Guignes (*Histoire des Huns*, tom. iii. p. 155—173), and our countryman Colonel Alexander Dow (vol. i. p. 23—83.)

† See a just and natural picture of these pastoral manners, in the history of William archbishop of Tyre (l. i. c. 7, in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 633, 634), and a valuable note by the editor of the *Histoire Genealogique des Tartars*, p. 535—538. The first emigration of the Turk-mans, and doubtful origin of the Seljukians, may be traced in the laborious history of the Huns by M. de Guignes, and the *Bibliothèque Orientale* of D'Herbelot, Elmacin, and Abulpharagius.

‡ Willerm. Tyr. l. i. c. 7, p. 633. The divination by arrows is ancient and famous in the East.

Media he approached the Roman confines, and the shepherd presumed to despatch an ambassador to demand the tribute and obedience of the emperor of Constantinople. In 1055 Togrul was called to the deliverance of the caliph Cayem, who slumbered in the palace of Bagdad, a venerable phantom. Togrul obeyed the summons, and it gave a new kingdom to his arms. The sultan of Persia overcame the rebellious emirs, and the caliph solemnly declared him the temporal lieutenant of the vicar of the prophet. Myriads of Turkish horse, under his command, overspread a frontier of 600 miles, from Taurus to Arseroum, and the blood of 130,000 Christians was a grateful sacrifice to the Arabian prophet; yet the arms of Togrul did not make any deep or lasting impression on the Greek empire: the torrent rolled away from the open country, and the sultan retired, without glory or success, from the siege of an Armenian city. Obscure hostilities were continued or suspended with a vicissitude of events, and the bravery of the Macedonian legions renewed the fame of the conqueror of Asia.

Togrul Beg died in 1063, and leaving no issue, his nephew Alp Arslan succeeded to the title and prerogatives of sultan. The name of Alp Arslan, the valiant lion, is expressive of the popular idea of the perfection of man; and the successor of Togrul displayed the fierceness and generosity of the royal animal. He passed the Euphrates at the head of the Turkish cavalry, and entered Cæsarea, the metropolis of Cappadocia, to which he had been attracted by the fame and wealth of the temple of St. Basil*. The solid structure resisted the destroyer, but he carried

Reign of
Alp Arslan,
A. D. 1063
—1072.

* For these wars of the Turks and Romans, see in general the Byzantine histories of Zonaras and Cedrenus, Scylitzes, the continuation of Cedrenus and Nicephorus Bryennius Cæsar. For the Orientals, I draw as usual on the wealth of D'Herbelot (see titles of the first Seljukides) and the accuracy of De Guignes, (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. iii. l. 10.)

CHAP. XLII. away the doors of the shrine, incrusting with gold and pearls. The final conquest of Armenia and Georgia was achieved by Alp Arslan. In Armenia, the title of a kingdom, and the spirit of a nation, were annihilated: the artificial fortifications were yielded by the mercenaries of Constantinople; by strangers without faith, veterans without pay or arms, and recruits without experience or discipline. The woods and valleys of Mount Caucasus were more strenuously defended by the native Georgians or Iberians; but the Turkish sultan and his son Malek were indefatigable in this holy war: their captives were compelled to promise a spiritual as well as temporal obedience; and instead of their collars and bracelets, an iron horse-shoe, a badge of ignominy, was imposed on the infidels who still adhered to the worship of their fathers. The change, however, was not sincere or universal; and through ages of servitude, the Georgians have maintained the succession of their princes and bishops. But a race of men, whom nature has cast in her most perfect mould, is degraded by poverty, ignorance, and vice; their profession, and still more their practice of Christianity, is an empty name.

The emperor Romanus Diogenes,
A. D. 1068
—1071.

Alp Arslan attacked without scruple the Greek empress Eudocia and her children. His alarming progress compelled her to give herself and her sceptre to the hands of a soldier; and Romanus Diogenes was invested with the Imperial purple. His patriotism, and perhaps his pride, urged him from Constantinople within two months after his accession. In the palace Diogenes was no more than the husband of Eudocia; in the camp he was the emperor of the Romans, and he sustained that character with feeble resources and invincible courage. By his spirit and success, the soldiers were taught to act, the subjects to hope, and the enemies to fear. The Turks had

penetrated into the heart of Phrygia ; but the sultan himself had resigned to his emirs the prosecution of the war, and their numerous detachments were scattered over Asia in the security of conquest. Laden with spoil, and careless of discipline, they were separately surprised and defeated by the Greeks : the activity of the emperor seemed to multiply his presence ; and while they heard of his expedition to Antioch, the enemy felt his sword on the hills of Trebizond. In three laborious campaigns, the Turks were driven beyond the Euphrates ; in the fourth and last, Romanus undertook the deliverance of Armenia. The desolation of the land obliged him to transport a supply of two months' provisions ; and he marched forwards to the siege of Malazkerd, an important fortress in the midway between the modern cities of Arzeroum and Van. His army amounted at the least to one hundred thousand men. The troops of Constantinople were reinforced by the disorderly multitudes of Phrygia and Cappadocia ; but the real strength was composed of the subjects and allies of Europe, the legions of Macedonia, and the squadrons of Bulgaria ; the Uzi, a Moldavian horde, who were themselves of a Turkish race ; and, above all, the mercenary and adventurous bands of French and Normans. Their lances were commanded by the valiant Ursel of Baliol, the kinsman or father of the Scottish kings*, and were allowed to excel in the exercise of arms, or, according to the Greek style, in the practice of the Pyrrhic dance.

On the report of this bold invasion, which threat-

* Urselius (the Russelius of Zonaras) is distinguished by Jeffrey Malaterra (l. i. c. 33) among the Norman conquerors of Sicily, and with the surname of Baliol ; and our historians will tell how the Baliols came from Normandy to Durham, built Bernard's Castle on the Tees, married an heiress of Scotland, &c. Duncange (Not. ad Nicephor. Bryennium, l. ii. No. 4) has laboured the subject in honour of the President de Bailleul, whose father had exchanged the sword for the gown.

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Defeat of
the Romans,
A. D. 1071,
August.

ened his hereditary dominions, Alp Arslan flew to the scene of action at the head of forty thousand horse. His rapid and skilful evolutions distressed and dismayed the superior numbers of the Greeks ; and in the defeat of Basilacius, one of their principal generals, he displayed the first example of his valour and clemency. The imprudence of the emperor had separated his forces after the reduction of Malazkerd. It was in vain that he attempted to recal the mercenary Franks : they refused to obey his summons ; he disdained to await their return : the desertion of the Uzi filled his mind with anxiety and suspicion ; and, against the most salutary advice, he rushed forwards to speedy and decisive action. Had he listened to the fair proposals of the sultan, Romanus might have secured a retreat, perhaps a peace ; but in these overtures he supposed the fear or weakness of the enemy, and his answer was conceived in the tone of insult and defiance : “ If the Barbarian wishes for peace, let him evacuate the ground which he occupies for the encampment of the Romans, and surrender his city and palace of Rei as a pledge of his sincerity.” Alp Arslan smiled at the vanity of the demand, but he wept at the death of so many faithful Moslems ; and, after a devout prayer, proclaimed a free permission to all who were desirous of retiring from the field. With his own hand he tied up his horse’s tail, exchanged his bow and arrows for a mace and cimeter, clothed himself in a white garment, perfumed his body with musk, and declared that, if he were vanquished, that spot should be the place of his burial. The sultan himself had affected to cast away his missile weapons ; but his hopes of victory were placed in the arrows of the Turkish cavalry, whose squadrons were loosely distributed in the form of a crescent. Instead of the successive lines and reserves of the Grecian tactics, Romanus led his army in a

single and solid phalanx, and pressed with vigour and impatience the artful and yielding resistance of the Barbarians. In this desultory and fruitless combat he wasted the greater part of a summer's day, till prudence and fatigue compelled him to return to his camp. But a retreat is always perilous in the face of an active foe ; and no sooner had the standard been turned to the rear, than the phalanx was broken by the base cowardice, or the baser jealousy, of Andronicus, a rival prince, who disgraced his birth and the purple of the Cæsars. The Turkish squadrons poured a cloud of arrows on this moment of confusion and lassitude ; and the horns of their formidable crescent were closed in the rear of the Greeks. In the destruction of the army and pillage of the camp, it would be needless to mention the number of the slain or captives. The Byzantine writers deplore the loss of an inestimable pearl : they forget to mention, that in this fatal day the Asiatic provinces of Rome were irretrievably sacrificed.

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As long as hope survived, Romanus attempted to rally and save the relics of his army. When the centre, the Imperial station, was left naked on all sides, and encompassed by the victorious Turks, he still, with desperate courage, maintained the fight till the close of day, at the head of the brave and faithful subjects who adhered to his standard. They fell around him ; his horse was slain ; the emperor was wounded ; yet he stood alone and intrepid, till he was oppressed and bound by the strength of multitudes. The glory of this illustrious prize was disputed by a slave and a soldier ; a slave who had seen him on the throne of Constantinople, and a soldier whose extreme deformity had been excused on the promise of some signal service. Despoiled of his arms, his jewels, and his purple, Romanus spent a

Captivity
and deliver-
ance of the
emperor.

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dreary and perilous night on the field of battle, amidst a disorderly crowd of the meaner Barbarians. In the morning the royal captive was presented to Alp Arslan, who doubted of his fortune, till the identity of the person was ascertained by the report of his ambassadors, and by the more pathetic evidence of Basilacius, who embraced with tears the feet of his unhappy sovereign. The successor of Constantine, in a plebeian habit, was led into the Turkish divan, and commanded to kiss the ground before the lord of Asia. He reluctantly obeyed; and Alp Arslan, starting from his throne, is said to have planted his foot on the neck of the Roman emperor. But the fact is doubtful; and if, in the moment of insolence, the sultan complied with a national custom, the rest of his conduct has extorted the praise of his bigoted foes, and may afford a lesson to the most civilized ages. He instantly raised the royal captive from the ground; and thrice clasping his hand with tender sympathy, assured him that his life and dignity should be inviolate in the hands of a prince, who had learned to respect the majesty of his equals and the vicissitudes of fortune. From the divan Romanus was conducted to an adjacent tent, where he was served with pomp and reverence by the officers of the sultan, who, twice each day, seated him in the place of honour at his own table. In a free and familiar conversation of eight days, not a word, not a look of insult, escaped from the conqueror; but he severely censured the unworthy subjects who had deserted their valiant prince in the hour of danger, and gently admonished his antagonist of some errors which he had committed in the management of the war. In the preliminaries of negotiation, Alp Arslan asked him what treatment he expected to receive; and the calm indifference of

the emperor displays the freedom of his mind. “ If
“ you are cruel,” said he, “ you will take my life ;
“ if you listen to pride, you will drag me at your
“ chariot wheels ; if you consult your interest, you
“ will accept a ransom, and restore me to my coun-
“ try.”—“ And what,” continued the sultan, “ would
“ have been your behaviour, had fortune smiled on
“ your arms ?” The reply of the Greek betrays a
sentiment which prudence, and even gratitude, should
have taught him to suppress. “ Had I vanquished,”
he fiercely said, “ I would have inflicted on thy body
“ many a stripe.” The Turkish conqueror smiled at
the insolence of his captive ; observed that the Chris-
tian law inculcated the love of enemies and forgive-
ness of injuries ; and nobly declared that he would
not imitate an example which he condemned. After
mature deliberation, Alp Arslan dictated the terms
of liberty and peace, a ransom of a million, an annual
tribute of three hundred and sixty thousand pieces of
gold, the marriage of the royal children, and the de-
liverance of all the Moslems who were in the power
of the Greeks. Romanus, with a sigh, subscribed
this treaty so disgraceful to the majesty of the em-
pire : he was immediately invested with a Turkish
robe of honour ; his nobles and patricians were re-
stored to their sovereign ; and the sultan, after a
courteous embrace, dismissed him with rich presents
and a military guard. No sooner did he reach the
confines of the empire, than he was informed that
the palace and provinces had disclaimed their alle-
giance to a captive : a sum of two hundred thousand
pieces was painfully collected ; and the fallen monarch
transmitted this part of his ransom, with a sad con-
fession of his impotence and disgrace. The gener-
osity, or perhaps the ambition of the sultan, prepared
to espouse the cause of his ally ; but his designs were

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CHAP. prevented by the defeat, imprisonment, and death of
XLII. Romanus Diogenes *.

Death of
Alp Arslan,
A. D. 1073.

In the treaty of peace, it does not appear that Alp Arslan extorted any province or city from the captive emperor; and his revenge was satisfied with the trophies of his victory, and the spoils of Anatolia, from Antioch to the Black Sea. The fairest part of Asia was subject to his laws: twelve hundred princes, or the sons of princes, stood before his throne; and two hundred thousand soldiers marched under his banners. The sultan disdained to pursue the fugitive Greeks; but he meditated the more glorious conquest of Turkestan, the original seat of the house of Seljuk. He moved from Bagdad to the banks of the Oxus; a bridge was thrown over the river; and twenty days were consumed in the passage of his troops. But the progress of the great king was retarded by the governor of Berzem; and Joseph the Carizmian presumed to defend his fortress against the powers of the East. When he was produced a captive in the royal tent, the sultan, instead of praising his valour, reproached his obstinate folly; and the insolent replies of the rebel provoked a sentence, that he should be fastened to four stakes, and left to expire in that painful situation. At this command, the desperate Carizmian, drawing a dagger, rushed headlong towards the throne: the guards raised their battle-axes; their zeal was checked by Alp Arslan, the most skilful archer of the age; he drew his bow, but his foot slipped, the arrow glanced aside, and he re-

* The defeat and captivity of Romanus Diogenes may be found in John Scylitzes *ad calcem Cedreni*, tom. ii. p. 835—843; Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 281—284; Nicephorus Bryennius, l. i. p. 25—32; Glycas, p. 325—327; Constantine Manasses, p. 134; Elmacin *Hist. Saracen.* p. 343, 344; Abulpharag *Dynast.* p. 227; d'Herbelot, p. 102, 103; de Guignes, tom. iii. p. 207—211. Besides my old acquaintances Elmacin and Abulpharagius, the historian of the Huns has consulted Abulfeda, and his epitomizer Benschounah, a Chronicle of the Caliphs by Soyouthi, Abulmahasen of Egypt, and Novairi of Africa.

ceived in his breast the dagger of Joseph, who was instantly cut in pieces. The wound was mortal ; and the Turkish prince bequeathed a dying admonition to the pride of kings. " In my youth," said Alp Arslan, " I was advised by a sage to humble myself before God ; to distrust my own strength ; and never to despise the most contemptible foe. I have neglected these lessons ; and my neglect has been deservedly punished. Yesterday, as from an eminence I beheld the numbers, the discipline, and spirit of my armies, the earth seemed to tremble under my feet ; and I said in my heart, surely thou art the king of the world, the greatest and most invincible of warriors. These armies are no longer mine ; and, in the confidence of my personal strength, I now fall by the hand of an assassin." Alp Arslan possessed the virtues of a Turk and a Mussulman ; his voice and stature commanded the reverence of mankind ; his face was shaded with long whiskers ; and his ample turban was fashioned in the shape of a crown. The remains of the sultan were deposited in the tomb of the Seljukian dynasty ; and the passenger might read and meditate this useful inscription * : " O ye who have seen the glory of Alp Arslan exalted to the heavens, repair to Maru, and you will behold it buried in the dust !" The annihilation of the inscription, and the tomb itself, more forcibly proclaims the instability of human greatness.

* This interesting death is told by d'Herbelot (p. 103, 104), and M. de Guignes (tom. iii. p. 212, 213), from their Oriental writers ; but neither of them have transfused the spirit of Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 344, 345). The *Bibliothèque Orientale* has given the text of the reign of Malek (p. 542, 543, 544, 654, 655), and the *Histoire Generale des Huns* (tom. iii. p. 214, 224) has added the usual measure of repetition, emendation, and supplement. Without these two learned Frenchmen I should be blind indeed in the eastern world.

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The Comnenian Dynasty.—Alexius the First.—Apulia and Sicily conquered by the Normans.—Robert Guiscard invades Greece and takes Durazzo.—Relieves Rome, and obliges Henry the Third to retire.—Invades Greece a second time.—His Death.—Seljukian Kingdom of Roum.—Conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks.—Oppression of the Christians, and Origin of the Crusades.

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Michael
VII. Para-
pinaces.
Andronicus
I. Constan-
tine XII.
1071.

THE defeat and captivity of Romanus inflicted a deadly wound on the Byzantine monarchy of the East; and after he was released from the chains of the sultan, he vainly sought his wife and his subjects. His wife had been thrust into a monastery, and the subjects of Romanus had embraced the rigid maxim of the civil law, that a prisoner in the hands of the enemy is deprived, as by the stroke of death, of all the public and private rights of a citizen. In the general consternation, the Cæsar John asserted the indefeasible right of his three nephews: Constantinople listened to his voice; and the Turkish captive was proclaimed in the capital, and received on the frontier, as an enemy of the republic. Romanus was not more fortunate in domestic than in foreign war: the loss of two battles compelled him to yield, on the assurance of fair and honourable treatment; but his enemies were devoid of faith or humanity; and after the cruel extinction of his sight, his wounds were left to bleed and corrupt, till in a few days he was relieved from a state of misery. Under the triple reign of the house of Ducas, the two younger brothers was reduced to the vain honours of the purple; but the eldest, the pusillanimous

Michael, was incapable of sustaining the Roman sceptre ; and his surname of Parapinaces denotes the reproach which he shared with an avaricious favourite, who enhanced the price, and diminished the measure, of wheat. In the school of Psellus, and after the example of his mother, the son of Eudocia made some proficiency in philosophy and rhetoric ; but his character was degraded, rather than ennobled, by the virtues of a monk, and the learning of a sophist. Strong in the contempt of their sovereign and their own esteem, two generals at the head of the European and Asiatic legions assumed the purple at Adrianople and Nice. Their revolt was in the same month ; they bore the same name of Nicephorus ; but the two candidates were distinguished by the surnames of Bryennius and Botaniates ; the former in the maturity of wisdom and courage, the latter conspicuous only by the memory of his past exploits. While Botaniates advanced with cautious and dilatory steps, his active competitor stood in arms before the gates of Constantinople. The name of Bryennius was illustrious ; his cause was popular ; but his licentious troops could not be restrained from burning and pillaging a suburb ; and the people who would have hailed the rebel, rejected and repulsed the incendiary of his country. This change of the public opinion was favourable to Botaniates, who at length, with an army of Turks, approached the shores of Chalcedon. A formal invitation, in the name of the patriarch, the synod, and the senate, was circulated through the streets of Constantinople ; and the general assembly, in the dome of St. Sophia, debated, with order and calmness, on the choice of their sovereign. The guards of Michael would have dispersed this unarmed multitude ; but the feeble emperor, applauding his own moderation and clemency, resigned the ensigns of royalty, and was

CHAP. rewarded with the monastic habit, and the title of
XLIII. archbishop of Ephesus. He left a son, a Constantine, born and educated in the purple; and a daughter of the house of Ducas illustrated the blood and confirmed the succession of the Comnenian dynasty.

Nicephorus
 III. Botaniates.
 A.D. 1708.
 March 25.

John Comnenus, the brother of the emperor Isaac, survived in peace and dignity his generous refusal of the sceptre. By his wife Anne, a woman of masculine spirit and policy, he left eight children: the three daughters multiplied the Comnenian alliances with the noblest of the Greeks. Of the five sons, Manuel was stopped by a premature death; Isaac and Alexius restored the Imperial greatness of their house, which was enjoyed without toil or danger by the two younger brethren, Adrian and Nicephorus. Alexius, the third and most illustrious of the brothers, was endowed by nature with the choicest gifts, both of mind and body; they were cultivated by a liberal education, and exercised in the school of obedience and adversity. The youth was dismissed from the perils of the Turkish war, by the paternal care of the emperor Romanus; but the mother of the Comneni, with her aspiring race, was accused of treason, and banished by the sons of Ducas to an island in the Propontis. The two brothers soon emerged into favour and action, fought by each other's side against the rebels and Barbarians, and adhered to the emperor Michael till he was deserted by the world and by himself. In his first interview with Botaniates, "Prince," said Alexius, with a noble frankness, "my duty rendered me your enemy; the decrees of God and of the people have made me your subject. Judge of my future loyalty by my past opposition." The successor of Michael entertained him with esteem and confidence; his valour was employed against three rebels, who

disturbed the peace of the empire, or at least of the emperors. Ursel, Bryennius, and Basilacius, were formidable by their numerous forces and military fame: they were successively vanquished in the field, and led in chains to the foot of the throne; and whatever treatment they might receive from a timid and cruel court, they applauded the clemency, as well as the courage, of their conqueror. But the loyalty of the Comneni was soon tainted by fear and suspicion; nor is it easy to settle between a subject and a despot, the debt of gratitude which the former is tempted to claim by a revolt, and the latter to discharge by an executioner. The refusal of Alexius to march against a fourth rebel, the husband of his sister, destroyed the merit or memory of his past services: the favourites of Botaniates provoked the ambition which they apprehended and accused; and the retreat of the two brothers might be justified by the defence of their life or liberty. The women of the family were deposited in a sanctuary, respected by tyrants: the men, mounted on horseback, sallied from the city, and erected the standard of civil war. The soldiers, who had been gradually assembled in the capital and the neighbourhood, were devoted to the cause of a victorious and injured leader: the ties of common interest and domestic alliance secured the attachment of the house of Duças; and the generous dispute of the Comneni was terminated by the decisive resolution of Isaac, who was the first to invest his younger brother with the name and ensigns of royalty. They returned to Constantinople, to threaten, rather than besiege, that impregnable fortress; but the fidelity of the guards was corrupted; a gate was surprised; and the fleet was occupied by the active courage of George Palæologus, who fought against his father, without foreseeing that he laboured for his posterity. Alexius

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ascended the throne ; and his aged competitor disappeared in a monastery. An army of various nations was gratified with the pillage of the city ; but the public disorders were expiated by the tears and fasts of the Comneni, who submitted to every penance compatible with the possession of the empire.

Alexius I.
Comnenus.
A.D. 1081.
April 1.

The life of the emperor Alexius has been delineated by a favourite daughter, who was inspired by a tender regard for his person, and a laudable zeal to perpetuate his virtues. Conscious of the just suspicion of her readers, the princess Anna Comnena repeatedly protests, that, besides her personal knowledge, she had searched the discourses and writings of the most respectable veterans ; that after an interval of thirty years, forgotten by, and forgetful of, the world, her mournful solitude was inaccessible to hope and fear ; and that truth, the naked perfect truth, was more dear and sacred than the memory of her parent. Yet, instead of the simplicity of style and narrative which wins our belief, an elaborate affectation of rhetoric and science betrays in every page the vanity of the author. The genuine character of Alexius is lost in a vague constellation of virtues ; and the perpetual strain of panegyric and apology awakens our jealousy, to question the veracity of the historian and the merit of the hero. We cannot, however, refuse her judicious and important remark, that the disorders of the times were the misfortune and glory of Alexius ; and that every calamity which can afflict a declining empire was accumulated on his reign by the justice of heaven and the vices of his predecessors. In the east the victorious Turks had spread, from Persia to the Hellespont, the reign of the Koran and the Crescent ; the west was invaded by the adventurous valour of the Normans ; and in the moments of peace, the Danube poured forth new swarms, who had gained in the science of war, what they had lost

in the ferociousness of manners. The sea was not less hostile than the land ; and while the frontiers were assaulted by an open enemy, the palace was distracted with secret treason and conspiracy. On a sudden, the banner of the cross was displayed by the Latins : Europe was precipitated on Asia ; and Constantinople had almost been swept away by this impetuous deluge. In the tempest Alexius steered the Imperial vessel with dexterity and courage. At the head of his armies he was bold in action, skilful in stratagem, patient of fatigue, ready to improve his advantages, and rising from his defeats with inexhaustible vigour. The discipline of the camp was revived, and a new generation of men and soldiers was created by the example and the precepts of their leader. In his intercourse with the Latins, Alexius was patient and artful ; his discerning eye pervaded the system of an unknown world ; and with superior policy he balanced the interests and passions of the champions of the first crusade. In a long reign of thirty-seven years, he subdued and pardoned the envy of his equals ; the laws of public and private order were restored ; the arts of wealth and science were cultivated ; the limits of the empire were enlarged in Europe and Asia ; and the Comnenian sceptre was transmitted to his children of the third and fourth generation. Yet the difficulties of the times betrayed some defects in his character, and have exposed his memory to some just or ungenerous reproach. The reader may possibly smile at the lavish praise which his daughter so often bestows on a flying hero : the weakness or prudence of his situation might be mistaken for a want of personal courage ; and his political arts are branded by the Latins with the names of deceit and dissimulation. The increase of the male and female branches of his family adorned the throne and secured the suc-

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cession ; but their princely luxury and pride offended the patricians, exhausted the revenue and insulted the misery of the people. Anna is a faithful witness that his happiness was destroyed, and his health was broken by the cares of a public life.

In the first year of his reign Alexius was called to the mouth of the Adriatic Gulf, to resist the formidable invasion of the Normans, who were landed on the coast of Epirus, and had formed the siege of Durazzo. The history of those bold adventurers is so romantic in its origin, and in its consequences so important both to Italy and the Greek empire, that it will be proper to say a few words respecting the origin and establishment of the Norman power, at first in Aversa, afterwards in Apulia and Sicily*. The broken provinces of the Greeks, Lombards, and Saracens were exposed to every invader, and every sea and land was invaded by the adventurous spirit of the Scandinavian pirates. After a long indulgence of rapine and slaughter, a fair and ample territory was accepted, occupied, and named by the Normans of France, and the Dukes of Normandy acknowledged themselves the vassals of the successors of Charlemagne and Capet. The savage fierceness which they had brought from the snowy mountains of Norway was refined without being corrupted in a warmer climate ; the companions of Rollo insensibly mingled with the natives ; they imbibed the manners, language†, and gallantry of the French nation ; and in a martial age, the Normans might claim the palm of valour and glo-

* The original monuments of the Normans in Italy are collected in the fifth volume of Muratori, and among these we may distinguish the poem of William Apulus (p. 245—278), and the history of Galfridus (*Jeffrey*) Malaterra (p. 537—607). Both were natives of France, but they wrote on the spot, in the age of the first conquerors (before A. D. 1100), and with the spirit of freemen.

† The Danish language was still spoken by the Normans of Bayeux on the sea-coast, at a time (A. D. 940) when it was already forgotten at Rouen, in the court, and capital. Of the vernacular and favourite idiom of William the Conqueror (A. D. 1035), Selden (*Opera*, tom. II. p. 1640—1656) has given a specimen obsolete and obscure, even to antiquarians and lawyers.

rious achievements. Of the fashionable superstitions, they embraced with ardour the pilgrimages to Rome, Italy, and the Holy Land. In this active devotion their minds and bodies were invigorated by exercise; danger was the incentive, novelty the recompense; and the prospect of the world was decorated by wonder, credulity, and ambitious hope. They confederated for their mutual defence; and the robbers of the Alps, who had been allured by the garb of a pilgrim, were often chastised by the arm of a warrior. In one of these pious visits to the cavern of Mount Garganus, in Apulia, they were accosted by a stranger in the Greek habit, but who soon revealed himself as a rebel, a fugitive, and a mortal foe of the Greek empire. His name was Melo, a noble citizen of Bari, who, after an unsuccessful revolt, was compelled to seek new allies and avengers of his country. The bold appearance of the Normans revived his hopes and solicited his confidence: they listened to the complaints, and still more to the promises of the patriot. The assurance of wealth demonstrated the justice of his cause; and they viewed as the inheritance of the brave, the fruitful land which was oppressed by effeminate tyrants. On their return to Normandy, they kindled a spark of enterprise; and a small but intrepid band was freely associated for the deliverance of Apulia. They passed the Alps by separate roads, and in the disguise of pilgrims; but in the neighbourhood of Rome they were saluted by the chief of Bari, who supplied the more indigent with arms and horses, and instantly led them to the field of action. In the first conflict their valour prevailed; but in the second engagement they were overwhelmed by the numbers and military engines of the Greeks, and indignantly retreated with their faces to the enemy. The unfortunate Melo

CHAP. ended his life a suppliant at the court of Germany :
 XLIII. his Norman followers, excluded from their native

Foundation
 of Aversa,
 A.D. 1029.

and their promised land, wandered among the hills and valleys of Italy, and earned their daily subsistence by the sword. To that formidable sword the princes of Capua, Beneventum, Salerno, and Naples, alternately appealed in their domestic quarrels ; the superior spirit and discipline of the Normans gave victory to the side which they espoused ; and their cautious policy observed the balance of power, lest the preponderance of any rival state should render their aid less important, and their service less profitable. Their first asylum was a strong camp in the depth of the marshes of Campania ; but they were soon endowed by the liberality of the Duke of Naples with a more plentiful and permanent seat. Eight miles from his residence, as a bulwark against Capua, the town of Aversa was built and fortified for their use ; and they enjoyed as their own the corn and fruits, the meadows and groves, of that fertile district. The report of their success attracted every year new swarms of pilgrims and soldiers ; the poor were urged by necessity ; the rich were excited by hope ; and the brave and active spirits of Normandy were impatient of ease and ambitious of renown. The independent standard of Aversa afforded shelter and encouragement to the outlaws of the province, to every fugitive who had escaped from the injustice or justice of his superiors ; and these foreign associates were quickly assimilated in manners and language to the Gallic colony. The first leader of the Normans was Count Rainulf ; and in the origin of society pre-eminence of rank is the reward and the proof of superior merit.

The Nor-
 mans serve
 in Sicily.
 A.D. 1038.

Since the conquest of Sicily by the Arabs, the Grecian emperors had been anxious to regain that valuable possession ; but their efforts, however strenuous, had been opposed by the distance and the sea.

Their costly armaments, after a gleam of success, added new pages of calamity and disgrace to the Byzantine annals; 20,000 of their best troops were lost in a single expedition; and the victorious Moslems derided the policy of a nation which intrusted eunuchs not only with the custody of their women, but with the command of their men*. After a reign of two hundred years, the Saracens were ruined by their divisions†. The emir disclaimed the authority of the king of Tunis; the people rose against the emir; the cities were usurped by the chiefs; each meaner rebel was independent in his village or castle; and the weaker of two rival brothers implored the friendship of the Christians. In every service of danger the Normans were prompt and useful; and five hundred knights or warriors on horseback were enrolled by Arduin, the agent and interpreter of the Greeks, under the standard of Maniaces, governor of Lombardy. Before their landing, the brothers were reconciled; the union of Sicily and Africa was restored, and the island was guarded to the water's edge. The Normans led the van, and the Arabs of Messina felt the valour of an untried foe. In a second action, the emir of Syracuse was unhorsed, and transpierced by the *iron arm* of William of Hauteville. In a third engagement, his intrepid companions discomfited the host of sixty thousand Saracens, and left the Greeks no more than the labour of the pursuit: a splendid victory; but of which the pen of the historian may divide the merit with the lance of the Normans. It is, however, true that they essentially promoted the success of Maniaces, who reduced thirteen cities, and the greater part of Sicily, under the obedience of the emperor. But his

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* Liutprand in Legatione, p. 485. Pagi has illustrated this event from the MS. history of the Deacon Leo (tom. iv. A. D. 965, No. 17—19).

† See the Arabian Chronicle of Sicily, apud Muratori Scrip. Rerum Ital. tom. i. p. 253.

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Their con-
quest of
Apulia.
A. D. 1040
—1043.

military fame was sullied by ingratitude and tyranny.

In the division of the spoil, the deserts of his brave auxiliaries were forgotten : and neither their avarice nor their pride could brook this injurious treatment. They complained by the mouth of their interpreter : their complaint was disregarded ; their interpreter was scourged : the sufferings were his ; the insult and resentment belonged to those whose sentiments he had delivered ; yet they dissembled till they had obtained, or stolen, a safe passage to the Italian continent. Their brethren of Aversa sympathised in their indignation, and the province of Apulia was invaded as the forfeit of the debt*. Above twenty years after the first emigration, the Normans took the field with no more than seven hundred horse and five hundred foot ; and after the recall of the Byzantine legions from the Sicilian war, their numbers are magnified to the amount of threescore thousand men. Their herald proposed the option of battle or retreat ; “ Of battle,” was the unanimous cry of the Normans ; and one of their stoutest warriors, with a stroke of his fist, felled to the ground the horse of the Greek messenger. He was dismissed with a fresh horse ; the insult was concealed from the Imperial troops ; but in two successive battles they were more fatally instructed of the prowess of their adversaries. In the plains of Cannæ the Asiatics fled before the adventurers of France ; the Duke of Lombardy was made prisoner ; the Apulians acquiesced in a new dominion ; and the four places of Bari, Otranto, Brundusium, and Tarentum, were alone saved in the shipwreck of the Grecian fortunes. From this æra we may date the establishment of the Norman power, which soon eclipsed the infant colony of Aversa.

* Jeffrey Malaterra, who relates the Sicilian war and the conquest of Apulia, (l. i. c. 7, 8, 9, 19). The same events are described by Cedrenus (tom. ii. p. 741—743, 755, 756), and Zonaras (tom. ii. p. 237, 238).

An attempt was made, during the reign of Constantine Monomachus, to overturn this power. The emperors of Greece and Germany, together with the pope, Leo the Ninth, attacked the Normans. A small army of those intrepid warriors defeated a numerous host. The pope was made a prisoner at Civitella on the 18th of June, 1053, and soon afterwards became the friend of those against whom he had excited the war. The provinces of Apulia and Calabria, which were a part of the donation falsely asserted to have been made by Constantine to the successors of Saint Peter, were granted by the pope to the Normans. The new allies, on the payment of a trifling quit-rent, promised to support each other with spiritual and temporal arms; and during 700 years from this memorable transaction, the kingdom of Naples has continued a fief of the holy see.

In the battle of Civitella the centre of the Normans was commanded by Robert Guiscard, who acted such a conspicuous part in the history of the eleventh century, and whose actions were so much connected with the concerns of the Greek empire, that he is entitled to particular notice. He was the sixth son of Tancred of Hauteville in the Lower Normandy. He passed the Alps as a pilgrim, with five followers on horseback and thirty on foot. His elder brother and his countrymen were settled in Apulia, where his genius and exertions soon distinguished him above his equals; and after the death of his brother Humphrey, during the tender age of his children, Guiscard was saluted general of the republic. The pope not long afterwards invested him with the title of Duke of Apulia, Calabria, and all the lands in Italy and Sicily which he could conquer from the Saracens and Greeks. This title was afterwards confirmed by the troops; but a period of twenty years had elapsed before he had completed the conquest of that part of

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Italy which has continued during seven centuries to form the present kingdom of Naples.

Roger, the youngest of the sons of Tancred, had remained in Normandy, on account of his youth and his father's age. He at length joined the Norman camp in Apulia, and by his conduct acquired first the esteem, and afterwards the envy, of Guiscard. His spirit excited him to the invasion of Sicily, and the attempt was seconded by the policy of his brother. With a small band of Normans he passed the straits of Messina, and gained such victories over the numerous armies of the Saracens, as appeared to be the subject of romance rather than history. The Arabs of Sicily derived frequent and powerful succours from their countrymen in Africa, by whose aid the war was prolonged during thirty years ; but the exertions of the Normans at length triumphed over their enemies ; and Roger, with the title of great count, obtained the sovereignty of the largest and most fruitful island of the Mediterranean ; and, by a singular bull of the pope, the princes of Sicily were declared hereditary and perpetual legates of the holy see, in the year 1090.

Robert in-
vades the
Eastern
empire,
A. D. 1081.

To Robert Guiscard the conquest of Sicily was more glorious than beneficial : the possession of Apulia and Calabria was inadequate to his ambition ; and he resolved to embrace or create the first occasion of invading, perhaps of subduing, the Roman empire of the East *. From his first wife, the partner of his humble fortunes, he had been divorced under the pretence of consanguinity ; and her son Bohemond was destined to imitate, rather than to succeed, his illustrious father. The second wife of

* In the first expedition of Robert against the Greeks, I follow Anna Comnena (the 1st, 3d, 4th, and 5th books of the *Alexiad*), William Apulus (lib. 4th and 5th, p. 270—275), and Jeffrey Malaterra (l. iii. c. 13, 14, 24, 29, 39). Their information is contemporary and authentic, but none of them were eye-witnesses of the war.

Guiscard was the daughter of the princes of Salerno ; the Lombards acquiesced in the lineal succession of their son Roger ; their five daughters were given in honourable nuptials, and one of them was betrothed, in a tender age, to Constantine, a beautiful youth, the son and heir of the emperor Michael. But the throne of Constantinople was shaken by a revolution : the Imperial family of Ducas was confined to the palace or the cloister ; and Robert deplored, and resented, the disgrace of his daughter and the expulsion of his ally. A Greek, who styled himself the father of Constantine, soon appeared at Salerno, and related the adventures of his fall and flight. That unfortunate friend was acknowledged by the duke, and adorned with the pomp and titles of Imperial dignity : in his triumphal progress through Apulia and Calabria, Michael was saluted with the tears and acclamations of the people ; and Pope Gregory the Seventh exhorted the bishops to preach, and the catholics to fight, in the pious work of his restoration. His conversations with Robert were frequent and familiar ; and their mutual promises were justified by the valour of the Normans and the treasures of the East. Yet this Michael, by the confession of the Greeks and Latins, was a pageant and an impostor, a monk who had fled from his convent, or a domestic who had served in the palace. The fraud had been contrived by the subtle Guiscard ; and he trusted that, after this pretender had given a decent colour to his arms, he would sink at the nod of the conqueror into his primitive obscurity. But victory was the only argument that could determine the belief of the Greeks ; and the ardour of the Latins was much inferior to their credulity : the Norman veterans wished to enjoy the harvest of their toils, and the unwarlike Italians trembled at the known and unknown dangers of a transmarine expedition. In his new levies, Ro-

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Robert exerted the influence of gifts and promises, the terrors of civil and ecclesiastical authority ; and some acts of violence might justify the reproach, that age and infancy were pressed without distinction into the service of their unrelenting prince. After two years' incessant preparations, the land and naval forces were assembled at Otranto, at the heel or extreme promontory of Italy ; and Robert was accompanied by his wife, who fought by his side, his son Bohemond, and the representative of the emperor Michael. Thirteen hundred knights, of Norman race or discipline, formed the sinews of the army, which might be swelled to thirty thousand followers of every denomination. The men, the horses, the arms, the engines, the wooden towers covered with raw hides, were embarked on board one hundred and fifty vessels : the transports had been built in the ports of Italy, and the galleys were supplied by the alliance of the republic of Ragusa.

Siege of
Durazzo,
A.D. 1081,
June 17.

At the mouth of the Adriatic Gulf, the shores of Italy and Epirus incline towards each other. The space between Brundisium and Durazzo, the Roman passage, is no more than one hundred miles ; at the last station of Otranto it is contracted to fifty ; and this narrow distance had suggested to Pyrrhus and Pompey the sublime or extravagant idea of a bridge. Before the general embarkation, the Norman duke despatched Bohemond with fifteen galleys, to seize or threaten the isle of Corfu, to survey the opposite coast, and to secure a harbour in the neighbourhood of Vallona for the landing of the troops. They passed and landed without perceiving an enemy ; and this successful experiment displayed the neglect and decay of the naval power of the Greeks. The islands of Epirus, and the maritime towns, were subdued by the arms or the name of Robert, who led his fleet and army from Corfu (I use the modern appellation)

to the siege of Durazzo. That city, the western key of the empire, was guarded by ancient renown, and recent fortifications by George Palæologus, a patriotic, victorious in the oriental wars, and a numerous garrison of Albanians and Macedonians, who in every age have maintained the character of soldiers. In the prosecution of his enterprise the courage of Guiscard was assailed by every form of danger and mischance. In the most propitious season of the year, as his fleet passed along the coast, a storm of wind and snow unexpectedly arose : the Adriatic was swelled by the raging blast of the south, and a new shipwreck confirmed the old infamy of the Acroceraunian rocks. The sails, the masts, and the oars, were shattered or torn away ; the sea and shore were covered with the fragments of vessels, with arms and dead bodies ; and the greatest part of the provisions were either drowned or damaged. The ducal galley was laboriously rescued from the waves, and Robert halted seven days on the adjacent cape, to collect the relics of his loss, and revive the drooping spirits of his soldiers. The Normans were no longer the bold and experienced mariners who had explored the ocean from Greenland to Mount Atlas, and who smiled at the petty dangers of the Mediterranean. They had wept during the tempest ; they were alarmed by the hostile approach of the Venetians, who had been solicited by the prayers and promises of the Byzantine court. The first day's action was not disadvantageous to Bohemond, a beardless youth, who led the naval powers of his father. All night the galleys of the republic lay on their anchors in the form of a crescent ; and the victory of the second day was decided by the dexterity of their evolutions, the station of their archers, the weight of their javelins, and the borrowed aid of the Greek fire. The Apulian and Ragusian vessels fled to the shore ; several were cut from

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their cables, and dragged away by the conqueror; and a sally from the town carried slaughter and dismay to the tents of the Norman duke. A seasonable relief was poured into Durazzo; and as soon as the besiegers had lost the command of the sea, the islands and maritime towns withdrew from the camp the supply of tribute and provision. That camp was soon afflicted with a pestilential disease; five hundred knights perished by an inglorious death; and the list of burials (if all could obtain a decent burial) amounted to ten thousand persons. Under these calamities, the mind of Guiscard alone was firm and invincible; and while he collected new forces from Apulia and Sicily, he battered, or scaled, or sapped, the walls of Durazzo. But his industry and valour were encountered by equal valour and more perfect industry. A moveable turret, of a size and capacity to contain five hundred soldiers, had been rolled forwards to the foot of the rampart; but the descent of the door or drawbridge was checked by an enormous beam, and the wooden structure was instantly consumed by artificial flames.

The army
and march of
the emperor
Alexius,
April—Sep-
tember.

While the Roman empire was attacked by the Turks in the east and the Normans in the west, the aged successor of Michael surrendered the sceptre to the hands of Alexius, an illustrious captain, and the founder of the Comnenian dynasty. The princess Anne, his daughter and historian, observes in her affected style, that even Hercules was unequal to a double combat; and on this principle she approves a hasty peace with the Turks, which allowed her father to undertake in person the relief of Durazzo. On his accession, Alexius found the camp without soldiers, and the treasury without money; yet such were the vigour and activity of his measures, that in six months he assembled an army of seventy thousand men, and performed a march of five hundred

miles. His troops were levied in Europe and Asia, from Peloponnesus to the Black Sea: his majesty was displayed in the silver arms and rich trappings of the companies of horse guards; and the emperor was attended by a train of nobles and princes, some of whom, in rapid succession, had been clothed with the purple, and were indulged, by the lenity of the times, in a life of affluence and dignity. Their youthful ardour might animate the multitude; but their love of pleasure, and contempt of subordination, were pregnant with disorder and mischief; and their importunate clamours for speedy and decisive action disconcerted the prudence of Alexius, who might have surrounded and starved the besieging army. The enumeration of provinces recalls a sad comparison of the past and present limits of the Roman world: the raw levies were drawn together in haste and terror; and the garrisons of Anatolia, or Asia Minor, had been purchased by the evacuation of the cities, which were immediately occupied by the Turks. The strength of the Greek army consisted in the Varangians, the Scandinavian guards, whose numbers were recently augmented by a colony of exiles and volunteers from the British island of Thule. Under the yoke of the Norman conqueror, the Danes and English were oppressed and united: a band of adventurous youths resolved to desert a land of slavery; the sea was open to their escape, and in their long pilgrimage they visited every coast that afforded any hope of liberty and revenge. They were entertained in the service of the Greek emperor; and their first station was in a new city on the Asiatic shore: but Alexius soon recalled them to the defence of his person and palace, and bequeathed to his successors the inheritance of their faith and valour*.

* See William of Malmesbury *de Gestis Anglorum*, l. ii. p. 92; Alexius fidem Anglorum suscipiens præcipuis familiaritatibus suis eos applicabat, amorem eorum filio transcribens. Ordericus Vitalis (*Hist. Eccles.* l. iv. p. 508, l. vii. p. 641) relates their emigration from England and their service in Greece.

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The name of a Norman invader revived the memory of their wrongs : they marched with alacrity against the national foe, and panted to regain in Epirus the glory which they had lost in the battle of Hastings. The Varangians were supported by some companies of Franks or Latins ; and the rebels, who had fled to Constantinople from the tyranny of Guiscard, were eager to signalize their zeal and gratify their revenge. The treaty with the sultan had procured a supply of some thousand Turks ; and the arrows of the Scythian horse were opposed to the lances of the Norman cavalry. On the report and distant prospect of these formidable numbers, Robert assembled a council of his principal officers. “ You behold,” said he, “ your danger ; it is urgent and inevitable. The hills are covered with arms and standards, and the emperor of the Greeks is accustomed to wars and triumphs. Obedience and union are our only safety ; and I am ready to yield the command to a more worthy leader.” The vote and acclamation even of his secret enemies assured him, in that perilous moment, of their esteem and confidence ; and the duke thus continued : “ Let us trust in the rewards of victory, and deprive cowardice of the means of escape. Let us burn our vessels and our baggage, and give battle on this spot, as if it were the place of our nativity and our burial.” The resolution was unanimously approved ; and, without confining himself to his lines, Guiscard awaited in battle array the nearer approach of the enemy. His rear was covered by a small river ; his right wing extended to the sea ; his left to the hills : nor was he conscious, perhaps, that on the same ground Cæsar and Pompey had formerly disputed the empire of the world *.

Against the advice of his wisest captains, Alexius

* See the simple and masterly narrative of Cæsar himself (*Comment. de Bell. Civil. iii. 41—75.*)

resolved to risk the event of a general action, and exhorted the garrison of Durazzo to assist their own deliverance by a well-timed sally from the town. He marched in two columns, to surprise the Normans before daybreak on two different sides: his light cavalry was scattered over the plain; the archers formed the second line, and the Varangians claimed the honours of the vanguard. In the first onset, the battle-axes of the strangers made a deep and bloody impression on the army of Guiscard, which was now reduced to fifteen thousand men. The Lombards and Calabrians ignominiously turned their backs; they fled towards the river and the sea; but the bridge had been broken down to check the sally of the garrison, and the coast was lined with the Venetian galleys, who played their engines among the disorderly throng. On the verge of ruin, they were saved by the spirit and conduct of their chiefs. Gaita, the wife of Robert, is painted by the Greeks as a warlike Amazon, a second Pallas; less skilful in arts, but not less terrible in arms, than the Athenian goddess: though wounded by an arrow, she stood her ground, and strove, by her exhortation and example, to rally the flying troops. Her female voice was seconded by the more powerful voice and arm of the Norman duke, as calm in action as he was magnanimous in council. "Whither," he cried aloud, "whither do ye fly? your enemy is implacable; and death is less grievous than servitude." The moment was decisive: as the Varangians advanced before the line, they discovered the nakedness of their flanks; the main battle of the duke, of eight hundred knights, stood firm and entire; they couched their lances, and the Greeks deplore the furious and irresistible shock of the French cavalry. Alexius was not deficient in the duties of a soldier or a general; but he no sooner beheld the slaughter of the Varangians, and the flight

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Battle of
Durazzo,
A. D. 1081,
October 18.

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of the Turks, than he despised his subjects and despaired of his fortune. The princess Anne, who drops a tear on this melancholy event, is reduced to praise the strength and swiftness of her father's horse, and his vigorous struggle, when he was almost overthrown by the stroke of a lance, which had shivered the Imperial helmet. His desperate valour broke through a squadron of Franks who opposed his flight ; and after wandering two days and as many nights in the mountains, he found some repose of body, though not of mind, in the walls of Lychnidus. The victorious Robert reproached the tardy and feeble pursuit which had suffered the escape of so illustrious a prize ; but he consoled his disappointment by the trophies and standards of the field, the wealth and luxury of the Byzantine camp, and the glory of defeating an army five times more numerous than his own. A multitude of Italians had been the victims of their own fears ; but only thirty of his knights were slain in this memorable day. In the Roman host, the loss of Greeks, Turks, and English, amounted to five or six thousand : the plain of Durazzo was stained with noble and royal blood ; and the end of the impostor Michael was more honourable than his life.

Durazzo
taken,
A. D. 1082,
February 8.

It is probable that Guiscard was not afflicted by the loss of a costly pageant, which had merited only the contempt and derision of the Greeks. After their defeat, they still persevered in the defence of Durazzo ; and a Venetian commander supplied the place of George Palæologus, who had been imprudently called away from his station. The tents of the besiegers were converted into barracks, to sustain the inclemency of the winter ; and in answer to the defiance of the garrison, Robert insinuated that his patience was at least equal to their obstinacy. Perhaps he already trusted to his secret correspondence with a Venetian noble, who sold the city for a rich

and honourable marriage. At the dead of night several rope-ladders were dropped from the walls ; the light Calabrians ascended in silence, and the Greeks were awakened by the name and trumpets of the conqueror. Yet they defended the street three days against an enemy already master of the rampart ; and near seven months elapsed between the first investment and the final surrender of the place. From Durazzo the Norman duke advanced into the heart of Epirus or Albania ; traversed the first mountains of Thessaly ; surprised three hundred English in the city of Castoria ; approached Thessalonica ; and made Constantinople tremble. A more pressing duty suspended the prosecution of his ambitious designs. By shipwreck, pestilence, and the sword, his army was reduced to a third of the original numbers ; and, instead of being recruited from Italy, he was informed, by plaintive epistles, of the mischiefs and dangers which had been produced by his absence : the revolt of the cities and barons of Apulia ; the distress of the pope ; and the approach or invasion of Henry king of Germany. Highly presuming that his person was sufficient for the public safety, he repassed the sea in a single brigantine, and left the remains of the army under the command of his son and the Norman counts, exhorting Bohemond to respect the freedom of his peers, and the counts to obey the authority of their leader. The son of Guiscard trod in the footsteps of his father ; and the two destroyers are compared by the Greeks to the caterpillar and the locust, the last of whom devours whatever has escaped the teeth of the former. After winning two battles against the emperor, he descended into the plain of Thessaly, and besieged Larissa, the fabulous realm of Achilles, which contained the treasure and magazines of the Byzantine camp. Yet a just praise must not be refused to the fortitude and prudence of

Return of
Robert, and
actions of
Bohemond.

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Alexius, who bravely struggled with the calamities of the times: a reinforcement of seven thousand Turks replaced and revenged the loss of their brethren; and the Greek soldiers were exercised to ride, to draw the bow, and to the daily practice of ambuscades and evolutions. Alexius had been taught by experience, that the formidable cavalry of the Franks on foot was unfit for action, and almost incapable of motion; his archers were directed to aim their arrows at the horse rather than the man; and a variety of spikes and snares was scattered over the ground on which he might expect an attack. In the neighbourhood of Larissa the events of war were protracted and balanced. The courage of Bohemond was always conspicuous, and often successful; but his camp was pillaged by a stratagem of the Greeks: the city was impregnable; and the venal or discontented counts deserted his standard, betrayed their trusts, and enlisted in the service of the emperor. Alexius returned to Constantinople with the advantage rather than the honour of victory. After evacuating the conquests which he could no longer defend, the son of Guiscard embarked for Italy, and was embraced by a father, who esteemed his merit, and sympathized in his misfortune.

The emperor
Henry III.
invited by
the Greeks,
A. D. 1081.

Of the Latin princes, the allies of Alexius and enemies of Robert, the most prompt and powerful was Henry the Third or Fourth, king of Germany and Italy, and future emperor of the West. The epistle of the Greek monarch to his brother is filled with the warmest professions of friendship, and the most lively desire of strengthening their alliance by every public and private tie. He congratulates Henry on his success in a just and pious war, and complains that the prosperity of his own empire is disturbed by the audacious enterprises of the Norman Robert. The list of his presents expresses the manners of the

age : a radiated crown of gold, a cross set with pearls to hang on the breast, a case of relics, with the names and titles of the saints, a vase of crystal, a vase of sardonyx, some balm, most probably of Mecca, and one hundred pieces of purple. To these he added a more solid present of one hundred and forty thousand Byzantines of gold, with a further assurance of two hundred and sixteen thousand, so soon as Henry should have entered in arms the Apulian territories, and confirmed by an oath the league against the common enemy. The German *, who was already in Lombardy at the head of an army and a faction, accepted these liberal offers, and marched towards the south : his speed was checked by the sound of the battle of Durazzo ; but the influence of his arms or name, in the hasty return of Robert, was a full equivalent for the Grecian bribe. Henry was the severe adversary of the Normans, the allies and vassals of Gregory the Seventh, his implacable foe. The long quarrel of the throne and mitre had been recently kindled by the zeal and ambition of that haughty priest : the king and the pope had degraded each other ; and each had seated a rival on the temporal or spiritual throne of his antagonist. After the defeat and death of his Swabian rebel, Henry descended into Italy, to assume the Imperial crown, and to drive from the Vatican the tyrant of the church. But the Roman people adhered to the cause of Gregory : their resolution was fortified by supplies of men and money from Apulia ; and the city was thrice ineffectually besieged by the king of Germany. In the fourth year he corrupted, as it is said, with Byzantine gold, the nobles of Rome, whose estates and castles had been ruined by the war. The gates, the bridges, and fifty hostages, were delivered into

Besieges
Rome,
A. D. 1081
—1084.

A. D. 1084,
March 21.

* For these general events, I must refer to the general historians, Sigonius, Baronius, Muratori, Mosheim, St. Marc, &c.

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March 24.
— 31.

Flies before
Robert,
May, 1084.

his hands ; the antipope, Clement the Third, was consecrated in the Lateran ; the grateful pontiff crowned his protector in the Vatican ; and the emperor Henry fixed his residence in the capitol, as the lawful successor of Augustus and Charlemagne. The ruins of the Septizonium were still defended by the nephew of Gregory : the pope himself was invested in the castle of St. Angelo ; and his last hope was in the courage and fidelity of his Norman vassal. Their friendship had been interrupted by some reciprocal injuries and complaints ; but, on this pressing occasion, Guiscard was urged by the obligation of his oath, by his interest, more potent than oaths, by the love of fame, and his enmity to the two emperors. Unfurling the holy banner, he resolved to fly to the relief of the prince of the apostles : the most numerous of his armies, six thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, was instantly assembled ; and his march from Salerno to Rome was animated by the public applause and the promise of the divine favour. Henry, invincible in sixty-six battles, trembled at his approach ; recollected some indispensable affairs that required his presence in Lombardy ; exhorted the Romans to persevere in their allegiance ; and hastily retreated three days before the entrance of the Normans. In less than three years, the son of Tancred of Hauteville enjoyed the glory of delivering the pope, and of compelling the two emperors of the East and West to fly before his victorious arms. But the triumph of Robert was clouded by the calamities of Rome. By the aid of the friends of Gregory, the walls had been perforated or scaled ; but the Imperial faction was still powerful and active : on the third day the people rose in a furious tumult, and a hasty word of the conqueror, in his defence or revenge, was the signal of fire and pillage. The Saracens of Sicily, the subjects of Roger, and auxiliaries

of his brother, embraced this fair occasion of rifling and profaning the holy city of the Christians : many thousands of the citizens, in the sight, and by the allies, of their spiritual father, were exposed to violation, captivity, or death ; and a spacious quarter of the city, from the Lateran to the Coliseum, was consumed by the flames, and devoted to perpetual solitude. From a city where he was now hated, and might be no longer feared, Gregory retired to end his days in the palace of Salerno. The artful pontiff might flatter the vanity of Guiscard, with the hope of a Roman or Imperial crown ; but this dangerous measure, which would have inflamed the ambition of the Norman, must for ever have alienated the most faithful princes of Germany.

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The deliverer and scourge of Rome might have indulged himself in a season of repose ; but in the same year of the flight of the German emperor, the indefatigable Robert resumed the design of his eastern conquests. The zeal or gratitude of Gregory had promised to his valour the kingdoms of Greece and Asia ; his troops were assembled in arms, flushed with success, and eager for action. Their numbers, in the language of Homer, are compared by Anna to a swarm of bees ; yet the utmost and moderate limits of the powers of Guiscard have been already defined ; they were contained in this second occasion in one hundred and twenty vessels ; and as the season was far advanced, the harbour of Brundisium was preferred to the open road of Otranto. Alexius, apprehensive of a second attack, had assiduously laboured to restore the naval forces of the empire ; and obtained from the republic of Venice an important succour of thirty-six transports, fourteen galleys, and nine galeots, or ships of extraordinary strength and magnitude. Their services were liberally paid by the licence or monopoly of trade, a profitable

Second expedition of Robert into Greece.
A.D. 1084, October.

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gift of many shops and houses in the port of Constantinople, and a tribute to St. Mark, the more acceptable, as it was the produce of a tax on their rivals of Amalphi. By the union of the Greeks and Venetians, the Adriatic was covered with a hostile fleet; but their own neglect, or the vigilance of Robert, the change of a wind, or the shelter of a mist, opened a free passage; and the Norman troops were safely disembarked on the coast of Epirus. With twenty strong and well appointed galleys, their intrepid duke immediately sought the enemy, and though more accustomed to fight on horseback, he trusted his own life, and the lives of his brother and two sons, to the event of a naval combat. The dominion of the sea was disputed in three engagements, in the sight of the island of Corfu: in the two former, the skill and numbers of the allies were superior; but in the third the Normans obtained a final and complete victory. The light brigantines of the Greeks were scattered in ignominious flight: the nine castles of the Venetians maintained a more obstinate conflict; seven were sunk, two were taken; two thousand five hundred captives implored in vain the mercy of the victor; and the daughter of Alexius deploras the loss of thirteen thousand of his subjects or allies. The want of experience had been supplied by the genius of Guiscard; and each evening when he had sounded a retreat, he calmly explored the causes of his repulse, and invented new methods how to remedy his own defects, and to baffle the advantages of the enemy. The winter season suspended his progress: with the return of spring he again aspired to the conquest of Constantinople; but instead of traversing the hills of Epirus, he turned his arms against Greece and the islands, where the spoils would repay the labour, and where the land and sea

forces might pursue their joint operations with vigour and effect. But in the isle of Cephalonia, his projects were fatally blasted by an epidemical disease: Robert himself, in the seventieth year of his age, expired in his tent; and a suspicion of poison was imputed, by public rumour, to his wife, or to the Greek emperor. This premature death might allow a boundless scope for the imagination of his future exploits: and the event sufficiently declares, that the Norman greatness was founded on his life. Without the appearance of an enemy, a victorious army dispersed or retreated in disorder and consternation; and Alexius, who had trembled for his empire, rejoiced in his deliverance. The galley which transported the remains of Guiscard was shipwrecked on the Italian shore; but the duke's body was recovered from the sea, and deposited in the sepulchre of Venusia: a place more illustrious for the birth of Horace, than for the burial of the Norman heroes. Roger, his second son and successor, immediately sank to the humble station of a duke of Apulia: the esteem or partiality of his father left the valiant Bohemond to the inheritance of his sword. The national tranquillity was disturbed by his claims, till the first crusade against the infidels of the East opened a more splendid field of glory and conquest*.

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His death,
A.D. 1085.
July 17.

Of human life, the most glorious or humble prospects are alike and soon bounded by the sepulchre. The male line of Robert Guiscard was extinguished, both in Apulia and at Antioch, in the second generation; but his younger brother became the father of a line of kings; and the son of the great count was endowed with the name, the conquests, and the

* See Giannone (tom. ii. p. 88—93) and the historians of the first Crusade.

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spirit of the first Roger*. The heir of that Norman adventurer was born in Sicily; and at the age of only four years he succeeded to the sovereignty of the island.

While engaged in resisting the Normans, the attention of Alexius was called to the eastern frontier of the empire, where the Asiatic provinces were invaded by a still more dangerous enemy. Malek Shah had succeeded to his father Alp Arslan, in the year 1072. By the successful progress of his arms, and his own personal merit, Malek became the greatest prince of his age. Beyond the Oxus he reduced to his obedience the cities of Bochara, Carizine, and Samarcand: he passed the Sihon, or Iaxartes, the last boundary of Persian civilization. The hordes of Turkestan yielded to his supremacy; and his name was inserted in the coins of Cashgar, a Tartar kingdom on the extreme borders of China. He stretched his immediate jurisdiction, or feudatory sway, to the west and south, as far as the mountains of Georgia, the neighbourhood of Constantinople, the holy city of Jerusalem, and the spicy groves of Arabia Felix. This sultan bestowed a serious and learned care on the reformation of the calendar, which was effected by a general assembly of the astronomers of the East. The reign of Malek was illustrated by the Gelalæan era; and all errors were corrected by a computation of time, which surpasses the Julian, and approaches the accuracy of the Gregorian style†.

* The reign of Roger and the Norman kings of Sicily fills four books of the *Istoria Civile* of Giannone (tom. ii. l. xi.—xiv. p. 136—340), and is spread over the IXth and Xth volumes of the Italian annals of Muratori.

† By a law of the Prophet, the Moslems are confined to the irregular course of the lunar months. In Persia, since the age of Zoroaster, the revolution of the sun has been celebrated as an annual festival, but after the fall of the Magian empire the intercalation had been neglected. The fractions of minutes and hours were multiplied into days, and the date of the spring was removed from the sign of Aries to that of Pisces.

The greatness and unity of the Turkish empire expired in the person of Malek Shah. After his death, which happened in the year 1092, the bands of union and subordination were relaxed, and finally dissolved. The indulgence of the house of Seljuk invested their slaves with the inheritance of kingdoms; and, in the Oriental style, a crowd of princes arose from the dust of their feet.

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A prince of the royal line, Cutulmish, the son of Israil, the son of Seljuk, had fallen in a battle against Alp Arslan; and the humane victor had dropt a tear over his grave. His five sons, strong in arms, ambitious of power, and eager for revenge, unsheathed their scimitars against the son of Alp Arslan. The two armies expected the signal, when the caliph, forgetful of majesty, which secluded him from vulgar eyes, interposed his venerable mediation. "Instead of shedding the blood of your brethren, your brethren both in descent and faith, unite your forces in a holy war against the Greeks, the enemies of God and his Apostle." They listened to his voice: the sultan embraced his rebellious kinsmen; and the eldest, the valiant Soliman, accepted the royal standard, which gave him the free conquest and hereditary command of the provinces of the Roman empire, from Arseroum to Constantinople, and the unknown regions of the West. Accompanied by his four brothers, he passed the Euphrates: the Turkish camp was soon seated in the neighbourhood of Kutaich, in Phrygia; and his flying cavalry laid waste the country as far as the Hellespont and the Black Sea. Since the decline of the empire, the peninsula of Asia Minor had been exposed to the transient, though destructive, inroads of the Persians and Saracens; but the fruits of a lasting conquest were reserved for the Turkish sultan; and his arms were introduced by the Greeks, who aspired to reign

Conquest of
Asia Minor
by the
Turks.
A.D. 1074
—10 84.

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on the ruins of their country. Since the captivity of Romanus, six years the feeble son of Eudocia had trembled under the weight of the Imperial crown, till the provinces of both the East and West were lost in the same month by a double rebellion. Of either chief, Nicephorus was the common name ; but the surnames of Bryennius and Botaniates distinguish the European and Asiatic candidates. Their reasons, or rather their promises, were weighed in the Divan ; and after some hesitation, Soliman declared himself in favour of Botaniates, opened a free passage to his troops in their march from Antioch to Nice, and joined the banner of the crescent to that of the cross. After his ally had ascended the throne of Constantinople, the sultan was hospitably entertained in the suburb of Chrysopolis, or Scutari ; and a body of two thousand Turks was transported into Europe, to whose dexterity and courage the new emperor was indebted for the defeat and captivity of his rival Bryennius. But the conquest of Europe was dearly purchased by the sacrifice of Asia : Constantinople was deprived of the obedience and revenue of the provinces beyond the Bosphorus and Hellespont : and the regular progress of the Turks, who fortified the passes of the rivers and mountains, left not a hope of their retreat or expulsion. Another candidate implored the aid of the sultan : Melissenus, in his purple robes and red buskins, attended the motions of the Turkish camp ; and the desponding cities were tempted by the summons of a Roman prince, who immediately surrendered them into the hands of the Barbarians. These acquisitions were confirmed by a treaty of peace with the emperor Alexius ; his fear of Robert compelled him to seek the friendship of Soliman ; and it was not till after the sultan's death, that he extended as far as Nicomedia, about sixty miles from Constantinople, the

eastern boundary of the Roman world. Trebizond alone, defended on either side by the sea and mountains, preserved, at the extremity of the Euxine, the ancient character of a Greek colony, and the future destiny of a Christian empire.

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Since the first conquests of the caliphs, the establishment of the Turks in Anatolia, or Asia Minor, was the most deplorable loss which the church and empire had sustained. By the propagation of the Moslem faith, Soliman deserved the name of *Gazi*, or holy champion; and his new kingdom of the Romans, or of *Roum*, was added to the tables of Oriental geography. It is described as extending from the Euphrates to Constantinople, from the Black Sea to the confines of Syria; pregnant with mines of silver and iron, of alum and copper, fruitful in corn and wine, and productive of cattle and excellent horses *. The wealth of Lydia, the arts of the Greeks, the splendour of the Augustan age, existed only in books and ruins, which were equally obscure in the eyes of the Scythian conquerors. Yet, in the present decay, Anatolia still contains some wealthy and populous cities; and, under the Byzantine empire, they were far more flourishing in numbers, size, and opulence. By the choice of the sultan, Nice, the metropolis of Bythina, was preferred for his palace and fortress; and the seat of the Seljukian dynasty of Roum was planted one hundred miles from Constantinople. The Arabian learning was taught in the schools: the cadhis judged according to the law of the Koran; the Turkish manners and language prevailed in the cities; and Turkman camps were scattered over the plains and mountains of Anatolia. On the hard conditions of

The Seljukian kingdom of Roum.

* Such is the description of Roum by Halton the Armenian, whose Tartar History may be found in the collections of Ramusio and Bergeron. (See Abulfeda's Geography: climat. xvii. p. 301—305).

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tribute and servitude, the Greek Christians might enjoy the exercise of their religion ; but their most holy churches were profaned, their priests and bishops were insulted ; they were compelled to suffer the triumph of the *Pagans*, and the apostasy of their brethren : many thousand children were marked by the knife of circumcision, and many thousand captives were devoted to the service or the pleasures of their masters. After the loss of Asia, Antioch still maintained her primitive allegiance to Christ and Cæsar ; but the solitary province was separated from all Roman aid, and surrounded on all sides by the Mahometan powers. The despair of Philaretus, the governor, prepared the sacrifice of his religion and loyalty, had not his guilt been prevented by his son, who hastened to the Nicene palace, and offered to deliver this valuable prize into the hands of Soliman. The ambitious sultan mounted on horseback, and in twelve nights (for he reposed in the day) performed a march of six hundred miles. Antioch was oppressed by the speed and secrecy of his enterprise ; and the dependent cities, as far as Laodicea and the confines of Aleppo *, obeyed the example of the metropolis. From Laodicea to the Thracian Bosphorus or Arm of St. George, the conquests and reign of Soliman extended thirty days' journey in length, and in breadth about ten or fifteen, between the rocks of Lycia and the Black Sea †. The Turkish ignorance of navigation protected for a while the inglorious safety of the emperor ; but no sooner had a fleet of two hundred ships been constructed by the hands of the captive Greeks, than Alexius trembled behind the walls of his capital. His plaintive epistles were dispersed over

* See Antioch, and the death of Soliman, in Anna Comnena (*Alexias*, l. vi. p. 168, 169), with the notes of Ducange.

† William of Tyre (*L. i. c. 9, 10. p. 635*) gives the most authentic and deplorable account of these Turkish conquests.

Europe, to excite the compassion of the Latins, and to paint the danger, the weakness, and the riches, of the city of Constantinople. .

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But the most interesting conquest of the Seljukian Turks was that of Jerusalem *, which soon became the theatre of nations. In their capitulation with Omar, the inhabitants had stipulated the assurance of their religion and property; but the articles were interpreted by a master against whom it was dangerous to dispute; and in the four hundred years of the reign of the caliphs, the political climate of Jerusalem was exposed to the vicissitudes of storms and sunshine. By the increase of proselytes and population, the Mahometans might excuse their usurpation of three-fourths of the city; but a peculiar quarter was reserved for the patriarch, with his clergy and people: a tribute of two pieces of gold was the price of protection; and the sepulchre of Christ, with the Church of the Resurrection, was still left in the hands of his votaries. Of these votaries, the most numerous and respectable portion were strangers to Jerusalem: the pilgrimages to the Holy Land had been stimulated, rather than suppressed, by the conquests of the Arabs; and the enthusiasm which had always prompted these perilous journeys was nourished by the congenial passions of grief and indignation. A crowd of pilgrims from the East and West continued to visit the holy sepulchre and the adjacent sanctuaries, more especially at the festival of Easter; and the Greeks and Latins, the Nestorians and Jacobites, the Copts and Abyssinians, the Armenians and Georgians, maintained the chapels, the clergy, and the poor of their respective communions. The harmony of prayer in so many various tongues, the worship of so many

State and
pilgrimage
of Jeru-
salem,
A. D. 638
—1099.

* Our best fund for the history of Jerusalem, from Heraclius to the Crusades, is contained in two large and original passages of William archbishop of Tyre (l. i. c. 1—10; l. xviii. c. 5, 6), the principal author of the *Gesta Dei per Francos*.

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nations in the common temple of their religion, might have afforded a spectacle of edification and peace ; but the zeal of the Christian sects was embittered by hatred and revenge. The pre-eminence was asserted by the spirit and numbers of the Franks ; and the greatness of Charlemagne * protected both the Latin pilgrims and the Catholics of the East. The poverty of Carthage, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, was relieved by the alms of that pious emperor ; and many monasteries of Palestine were founded or restored by his liberal devotion. Harun Alraschid, the greatest of the Abassides, esteemed in his Christian brother a similar supremacy of genius and power : their friendship was cemented by a frequent intercourse of gifts and embassies ; and the caliph, without resigning the substantial dominion, presented the emperor with the keys of the holy sepulchre, and perhaps of the city of Jerusalem. In the decline of the Carlovingian monarchy, the republic of Amalphi promoted the interest of the trade and religion in the East. Her vessels transported the Latin pilgrims to the coasts of Egypt and Palestine, and deserved, by their useful imports, the favour and alliance of the Fatimite caliphs : an annual fair was instituted on Mount Calvary ; and the Italian merchants founded the convent and hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, the cradle of the monastic and military order which has since reigned in the isles of Rhodes and of Malta.

Under the
Fatimite
caliphs,
A. D. 939
—1076.

The revolution which transferred the sceptre from the Abassides to the Fatimites was a benefit, rather than an injury, to the Holy Land. A sovereign resident in Egypt was more sensible of the importance of Christian trade ; and the emirs of Palestine were

* For the transactions of Charlemagne with the Holy Land, see Eginhard (*De Vita Caroli Magni*, c. 16. p. 79—82), Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De Administratione Imperii*, l. ii. c. 26. p. 80), and Pagi (*Critica*, tom. iii. A. D. 800, No. 13, 14, 15).

less remote from the justice and power of the throne. But the third of these Fatimite caliphs was the famous Hakem, a frantic youth, who was delivered, by his impiety and despotism, from the fear either of God or man; and whose reign was a wild mixture of vice and folly. A general interdict was laid on the devotion of strangers and natives. The temple of the Christian world, the Church of the Resurrection, was demolished to its foundations; and much profane labour was exhausted to destroy the cave in the rock which properly constitutes the holy sepulchre. At the report of this sacrilege the nations of Europe were astonished and afflicted. Yet the calamities of Jerusalem were in some measure alleviated by the inconstancy or repentance of Hakem himself; and the royal mandate was sealed for the restitution of the churches, when the tyrant was assassinated by the emissaries of his sister. The succeeding caliphs resumed the maxims of religion and policy: a free toleration was again granted; with the pious aid of the emperor of Constantinople, the holy sepulchre arose from its ruins; and, after a short abstinence, the pilgrims returned with an increase of appetite to the spiritual feast. In the sea voyage of Palestine, the dangers were frequent, and the opportunities rare; but the conversion of Hungary opened a safe communication between Germany and Greece. The charity of St. Stephen, the apostle of his kingdom, relieved and conducted the itinerant brethren; and, from Belgrade to Antioch, they traversed fifteen hundred miles of a Christian empire. Among the Franks, the zeal of pilgrimage prevailed, beyond the example of former times; and the roads were covered with multitudes of either sex, and of every rank, who professed their contempt of life so soon as they should have kissed the tomb of their Redeemer. Princes and prelates abandoned the care of their dominions;

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Sacrilege
of Hakem,
A. D. 1009.

Increase of
pilgrimages,
A. D. 1024,
&c.

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and the numbers of these pious caravans were a prelude to the armies which marched in the ensuing age under the banner of the Cross. About thirty years before the first crusade, the archbishop of Mentz, with the bishops of Utrecht, Bamberg, and Ratisbon, undertook this laborious journey from the Rhine to the Jordan; and the multitude of their followers amounted to seven thousand persons. At Constantinople they were hospitably entertained by the emperor; but the ostentation of their wealth provoked the assault of the wild Arabs: they drew their swords with scrupulous reluctance, and sustained a siege, in the village of Capernaum, till they were rescued by the venal protection of the Fatimite emir. After visiting the holy places, they embarked for Italy, but only a remnant of two thousand arrived in safety in their native land. Ingulphus, a secretary of William the Conqueror, was a companion of this pilgrimage: he observes, that they sallied from Normandy, thirty stout and well appointed horsemen; but that they repassed the Alps twenty miserable palmers, with the staff in their hand and the wallet at their back*.

Conquest
of Jerusa-
lem by the
Turks,
A. D. 1076
—1096.

After the defeat of the Romans, the tranquillity of the Fatimite caliphs was invaded by the Turks†. One of the lieutenants of Malek Shah, Atsiz the Carismian, marched into Syria at the head of a powerful army, and reduced Damascus by famine and the sword. Hems, and the other cities of the province, acknowledged the caliph of Bagdad and the sultan of Persia; and the victorious emir advanced without resistance to the banks of the Nile. The Fatimite was preparing to fly into the heart of Africa; but the negroes of his guard, and the inha-

* Baronius (A. D. 1064, No. 43—56) has transcribed the greater part of the original narratives of Ingulphus, Marianus, and Lambertus.

† See Elmacin (*Hist. Saracen.* p. 349, 350), and Abulpharagius (*Dynast.* p. 237, vers. Pococke). M. de Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. iii. part i. p. 215, 216) adds the testimonies, or rather the names, of Abulfeda and Novairi.

bitants of Cairo, made a desperate sally, and repulsed the Turk from the confines of Egypt. In his retreat he indulged the license of slaughter and rapine : the judge and notaries of Jerusalem were invited to his camp, and their execution was followed by the massacre of three thousand citizens. The cruelty or the defeat of Atsiz was soon punished by the sultan Touthash, the brother of Malek Shah, who, with a higher title, and more formidable powers, asserted the dominion of Syria and Palestine. The house of Seljuk reigned about twenty years in Jerusalem ; but the hereditary command of the holy city and territory was intrusted or abandoned to the emir Ortok, the chief of a tribe of Turkmans, whose children, after their expulsion from Palestine, formed two dynasties on the borders of Armenia and Assyria *. The Oriental Christians, and the Latin pilgrims, deplored a revolution, which, instead of the regular government and old alliance of the caliphs, imposed on their necks the iron yoke of the strangers of the North †. In his court and camp, the great sultan had adopted, in some degree, the arts and manners of Persia ; but the body of the Turkish nation, and more especially the pastoral tribes, still breathed the fierceness of the desert. From Nice to Jerusalem, the western countries of Asia were a scene of foreign and domestic hostility ; and the shepherds of Palestine, who held a precarious sway on a doubtful frontier, had neither leisure nor capacity to await the slow profits of commercial and religious freedom. The pilgrims, who, through innumerable perils, had reached the gates of Jerusalem, were the victims of private rapine or public oppression, and often sank under the pressure of famine and disease, before they were permitted to

* De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. p. 249—252.

† Willerm. *Tyr.* l. i. c. 8, p. 634, who strives hard to magnify the Christian grievances.

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salute the holy sepulchre. A spirit of native barbarism, or recent zeal, prompted the Turkmans to insult the clergy of every sect: the patriarch was dragged by the hair along the pavement, and cast into a dungeon, to extort a ransom from the sympathy of his flock; and the divine worship in the Church of the Resurrection was often disturbed by the savage rudeness of its masters. The pathetic tale excited the millions of the West to march, under the standard of the cross, to the relief of the Holy Land; a nerve was touched of exquisite feeling, and the sensation vibrated to the heart of Europe.

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First Crusade.—Conquest of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bouillon.—Success of Alexius.—Calo John.—Manuel.—Last War of the Greeks and Normans.—Andronicus, his remarkable Life and Death.—Events in Syria and Egypt in the Twelfth Century.—Noureddin subdues Egypt.—His successor Saladin takes Jerusalem.—The Second Crusade.—The Emperor Conrade and Louis the Seventh.—The Third Crusade.—Frederick Barbarossa.—Philip Augustus.—Richard the First.—Siege and Conquest of Acre.—The last Crusades.—St. Louis.—Edward the First.—Loss of Acre, and Expulsion of the Franks from Palestine.

ABOUT twenty years after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks, the holy sepulchre was visited by a hermit of the name of Peter, a native of Amiens, in the province of Picardy in France. His resentment and sympathy were excited by his own injuries and the oppression of the Christian name ; he mingled his tears with those of the patriarch, and earnestly inquired if no hopes of relief could be entertained from the Greek emperors of the East. The patriarch exposed the vices and weakness of the successors of Constantine. “ I will rouse,” exclaimed the hermit, “ the martial nations of Europe in your cause ;” and Europe was obedient to the call of the hermit. The astonished patriarch dismissed him with epistles of credit and complaint ; and no sooner did he land at Bari, than Peter hastened to kiss the feet of the Roman pontiff. His stature was small, his appearance contemptible, but his eye was keen and lively ; and he possessed that vehemence of speech, which seldom

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The first
crusade,
A. D. 1095
—1099.
Peter the
Hermit.

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fails to impart the persuasion of the soul *. He was born of a gentleman's family (for we must now adopt a modern idiom), and his military service was under the neighbouring counts of Boulogne, the heroes of the first crusade. But he soon relinquished the sword and the world, and withdrew to a convent, and at length to a hermitage. In this austere solitude, his body was emaciated, his fancy was inflamed; whatever he wished, he believed. From Jerusalem the pilgrim returned an accomplished fanatic; but as he excelled in the popular madness of the times, pope Urban the Second received him as a prophet, applauded his glorious design, promised to support it in a general council, and encouraged him to proclaim the deliverance of the Holy Land. Invigorated by the approbation of the pontiff, his zealous missionary traversed, with speed and success, the provinces of Italy and France. His diet was abstemious, his prayers long and fervent, and the alms which he received with one hand, he distributed with the other: his head was bare, his feet naked, his meagre body was wrapt in a coarse garment; he bore and displayed a weighty crucifix; and the ass on which he rode was sanctified in the public eye by the service of the man of God. He preached to innumerable crowds in the churches, the streets, and the highways: the hermit entered with equal confidence the palace and the cottage; and the people, for all was people, was impetuously moved by his call to repentance and arms. When he painted the sufferings of the natives and pilgrims of Palestine, every heart was melted to compassion: every breast glowed with indignation, when he challenged the warriors of the age to defend

* William of Tyre (l. i. c. 11, p. 637, 638) thus describes the hermit: "Pusillus, persona contemptibilis, vivacis ingenii, et oculum habens perspicacem gratumque, et sponte fluens ei non deerat eloquium." See Albert Aquensis, p. 185; Guibert, p. 482; Anna Comnena in Alexiad, l. x. p. 284, &c. with Ducange's notes, p. 349.

their brethren. His ignorance of art and language was compensated by sighs, and tears, and ejaculations; and Peter supplied the deficiency of reason by loud and frequent appeals to Christ and his Mother. The most perfect orator of Athens might have envied the success of his eloquence: the rustic enthusiast inspired the passions which he felt, and Christendom expected with impatience the counsels and decrees of the supreme pontiff.

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The magnanimous spirit of Gregory the Seventh had already embraced the design of arming Europe against Asia; the ardour of his zeal and ambition still breathes in his epistles: from either side of the Alps fifty thousand Catholics had inlisted under the banner of St. Peter; and his successor reveals *his* intention of marching at their head against the impious sectaries of Mahomet. But the glory or reproach of executing, though not in person, this holy enterprise, was reserved for Urban the Second, the most faithful of his disciples. So popular was the cause of Urban, so weighty was his influence, that the council which he summoned at Placentia* was composed of two hundred bishops of Italy, France, Burgundy, Swabia, and Bavaria. Four thousand of the clergy, and thirty thousand of the laity, attended this important meeting; and as the most spacious cathedral would have been inadequate to the multitude, the session of seven days was held in a plain adjacent to the city. The ambassadors of the Greek emperor, Alexius Comnenus, were introduced, to plead the distress of their sovereign and the danger of Constantinople, which was divided only by a narrow sea from the victorious Turks, the common enemies of the Christian name. In their suppliant address they flattered the pride of the Latin princes;

Urban II.
in the
council of
Placentia,
A. D. 1095.
March.

* See the narrative and acts of the synod of Placentia, Concil. tom. xii. p. 821, &c.

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and, appealing at once to their policy and religion, exhorted them to repel the Barbarians on the confines of Asia, rather than to expect them in the heart of Europe. At the sad tale of the misery and perils of their Eastern brethren, the assembly burst into tears : the most eager champions declared their readiness to march ; and the Greek ambassadors were dismissed with the assurance of a speedy and powerful succour. The relief of Constantinople was included in the larger and most distant project of the deliverance of Jerusalem : but the prudent Urban adjourned the final decision to a second synod, which he proposed to celebrate in some city of France in the autumn of the same year. The short delay would propagate the flame of enthusiasm ; and his firmest hope was in a nation of soldiers, still proud of the pre-eminence of their name, and ambitious to emulate their hero Charlemagne, who, in the popular romance of Turpin, had achieved the conquest of the Holy Land. A latent motive of affection or vanity might influence the choice of Urban : he was himself a native of France, a monk of Clugny, and the first of his countrymen who ascended the throne of St. Peter. The pope had illustrated his family and province : nor is there perhaps a more exquisite gratification than to revisit, in a conspicuous dignity, the humble and laborious scenes of our youth.

Council of
Clermont,
A. D. 1095,
November.

It may occasion some surprise, that the Roman pontiff should erect, in the heart of France, the tribunal from whence he hurled his anathemas against the king ; but our surprise will vanish so soon as we form a just estimate of the king of France of the eleventh century. Philip the First was the great-grandson of Hugh Capet, the founder of the present race, who, in the decline of Charlemagne's posterity, added the regal title to his patrimonial estates of Paris and Orleans. In this narrow compass, he was

possessed of wealth and jurisdiction ; but, in the rest of France, Hugh and his first descendants were no more than the feudal lords of about sixty dukes and counts, of independent and hereditary power, who disdained the control of laws and legal assemblies, and whose disregard of their sovereign was revenged by the disobedience of their inferior vassals. At Clermont, in the territories of the count of Auvergne, the pope might brave with impunity the resentment of Philip ; and the council which he convened in that city was not less numerous or respectable than the synod of Placentia *. Besides his court and council of Roman cardinals, he was supported by thirteen archbishops and two hundred and twenty-five bishops : the number of mitred prelates was computed at four hundred ; and the fathers of the church were blessed by the saints, and enlightened by the doctors of the age. From the adjacent kingdoms a martial train of lords and knights, of power and renown, attended the council, in high expectation of its resolves ; and such was the ardour of zeal and curiosity, that the city was filled, and many thousands, in the month of November, erected their tents or huts in the open field. A session of eight days produced some useful or edifying canons for the reformation of manners : a severe censure was pronounced against the licence of private war ; the truce of God was confirmed,—a suspension of hostilities during four days of the week ; women and priests were placed under the safeguard of the church ; and a protection of three years was extended to husbandmen and merchants, the defenceless victims of military rapine. But a law, however venerable be the sanction, cannot suddenly transform the temper of the times ; and the benevolent efforts of Urban deserve the less praise,

* See the acts of the council of Clermont, Concil. tom. xii. p. 829, &c.

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since he laboured to appease some domestic quarrels, that he might spread the flames of war from the Atlantic to the Euphrates. From the synod of Placentia the rumour of his great design had gone forth among the nations : the clergy, on their return, had preached in every diocese the merit and glory of the deliverance of the Holy Land ; and when the pope ascended a lofty scaffold in the market-place of Clermont, his eloquence was addressed to a well prepared and impatient audience. His topics were obvious, his exhortation was vehement, his success inevitable. The orator was interrupted by the shout of thousands, who with one voice, and in their rustic idiom, exclaimed aloud, " God wills it, God wills it ! " " It is indeed the will of God," replied the pope ; " and let this memorable word, the inspiration surely " of the Holy Spirit, be for ever adopted as your cry " of battle, to animate the devotion and courage of " the champions of Christ. His cross is the symbol " of your salvation : wear it, a red, a bloody cross, " as an external mark on your breasts or shoulders, " as a pledge of your sacred and irrevocable engagement." The proposal was joyfully accepted ; great numbers both of the clergy and laity impressed on their garments the sign of the cross, and solicited the pope to march at their head. This dangerous honour was declined by the more prudent successor of Gregory, who alleged the schism of the church, and the duties of his pastoral office ; recommending to the faithful, who were disqualified by sex or profession, by age or infirmity, to aid, with their prayers and alms, the personal service of their robust brethren. The name and powers of his legate he devolved on Adhemar, bishop of Puy, the first who had received the cross at his hands. The foremost of the temporal chiefs was Raymond, count of Thoulouse, whose ambassadors in the council excused the ab-

sence and pledged the honour of their master. After the confession and absolution of their sins, the champions of the cross were dismissed with a superfluous admonition to invite their countrymen and friends; and their departure for the Holy Land was fixed to the festival of the Assumption, the fifteenth of August of the ensuing year*.

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In the eleventh century, the victorious arms of the Turks had subdued, in less than thirty years, the kingdoms of Asia, as far as Jerusalem and the Hellespont; and the Greek empire tottered on the verge of destruction. Besides an honest sympathy for their brethren, the Latins had a right and interest in the support of Constantinople, the most important barrier of the West; and the privilege of defence must reach to prevent, as well as to repel, an impending assault. But this salutary purpose might have been accomplished by a moderate succour; and our calmer reason must disclaim the innumerable hosts, and remote operations, which overwhelmed Asia and depopulated Europe.

The fifteenth of August had been fixed for the departure of the pilgrims: but the day was anticipated by the thoughtless and needy crowd of plebeians; and I shall briefly despatch the calamities

Departure
of the first
crusaders,
A. D. 1096,
March,
May, &c.

* I shall briefly enumerate, as they stand in this collection, the authors whom I have used for the first crusade. I. *Gesta Francorum*. II. Robertus Monachus. III. Baldricus. IV. Raimundus de Agiles. V. Albertus Aquensis. VI. Fulcherius Carnotensis. VII. Guibertus. VIII. Willielmus Tyriensis. Muratori has given us, IX. Radulphus Cadomensis de Gestis Tancredi (*Script. Rer. Ital.* tom. v. p. 285—333), and, X. Bernardus Thesaurus de Acquisitione Terræ Sanctæ (tom. vii. p. 664—848). The last of these was unknown to a late French historian, who has given a large and critical list of the writers of the crusades (*Esprit des Croisades*, tom. i. p. 13—141), and most of whose judgments my own experience will allow me to ratify. It was late before I could obtain a sight of the French historians collected by Duchesne. I. Petri Tudebodi Sacerdotis Sivracensis Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere (tom. iv. p. 773—815) has been transfused into the first anonymous writer of Bongarsius. II. The Metrical History of the first Crusade, in seven books (p. 890—912), is of small value or account.

[In addition to the many important works which are here enumerated by Mr. Gibbon, I must mention the History of the Crusades, by Mr. Mills, which contains a complete and satisfactory account of their origin, progress, and final termination. —*The Editor.*]

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which they inflicted and suffered, before I enter on the more serious and successful enterprise of the chiefs. Early in the spring, from the confines of France and Lorraine, above sixty thousand of the populace, of both sexes, flocked round the first missionary of the crusade, and pressed him with clamorous importunity to lead them to the holy sepulchre. The hermit, assuming the character, without the talents or authority, of a general, impelled or obeyed the forward impulse of his votaries along the banks of the Rhine and Danube. Their wants and numbers soon compelled them to separate, and his lieutenant, Walter the Pennyless, a valiant though needy soldier, conducted a vanguard of pilgrims, whose condition may be determined, from the proportion of eight horsemen to fifteen thousand foot. The example and footsteps of Peter were closely pursued by another fanatic, the monk Godescal, whose sermons had swept away fifteen or twenty thousand peasants from the villages of Germany. Their rear was again pressed by a herd of two hundred thousand, the most stupid and savage refuse of the people, who mingled with their devotion a brutal licence of rapine, prostitution, and drunkenness.

Their destruction in
Hungary
and Asia,
A. D. 1096.

Between the frontiers of Austria and the seat of the Byzantine monarchy, the crusaders were compelled to traverse an interval of six hundred miles, the wild and desolate countries of Hungary and Bulgaria. The soil is fruitful, and intersected with rivers; but it was then covered with morasses and forests, which spread to a boundless extent, whenever man has ceased to exercise his dominion over the earth. Both nations had imbibed the rudiments of Christianity: the Hungarians were ruled by their native princes, the Bulgarians by a lieutenant of the Greek emperor; but, on the slightest provocation, their ferocious nature was rekindled, and ample provocation

was afforded by the disorders of the first pilgrims. Agriculture must have been unskilful and languid among a people, whose cities were built of reeds and timber, which were deserted in the summer season for the tents of hunters and shepherds. A scanty supply of provisions was rudely demanded, forcibly seized, and greedily consumed; and, on the first quarrel, the crusaders gave a loose to indignation and revenge. But their ignorance of the country, of war, and of discipline, exposed them to every snare. The Greek prefect of Bulgaria commanded a regular force: at the trumpet of the Hungarian king, the eighth or the tenth of his martial subjects bent their bows and mounted on horseback; their policy was insidious, and their retaliation on these pious robbers was unrelenting and bloody. About a third of the naked fugitives, and the hermit Peter was of the number, escaped to the Thracian mountains; and the emperor, who respected the pilgrimage and succour of the Latins, conducted them by secure and easy journeys to Constantinople, and advised them to await the arrival of their brethren. For a while they remembered their faults and losses; but no sooner were they revived by the hospitable entertainment, than their venom was again inflamed; they stung their benefactor, and neither gardens, nor palaces, nor churches, were safe from their depredations. For his own safety, Alexius allured them to pass over to the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus; but their blind impetuosity soon urged them to desert the station which he had assigned, and to rush headlong against the Turks, who occupied the road of Jerusalem. The hermit, conscious of his shame, had withdrawn from the camp to Constantinople; and his lieutenant, Walter the Pennyless, who was worthy of a better command, attempted without success to introduce some order and prudence among the herd of savages. They separated in quest

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of prey, and themselves fell an easy prey to the arts of the sultan. By a rumour that their foremost companions were rioting in the spoils of his capital, Soliman tempted the main body to descend into the plain of Nice; they were overwhelmed by the Turkish arrows; and a pyramid of bones * informed their companions of the place of their defeat. Of the first crusaders, three hundred thousand had already perished, before a single city was rescued from the infidels, before their graver and more noble brethren had completed the preparations of their enterprise.

The chiefs
of the first
crusade.

None of the great sovereigns of Europe embarked their persons in the first crusade. The emperor Henry the fourth was not disposed to obey the summons of the pope: Philip the first of France was occupied by his pleasures; William Rufus of England by a recent conquest; the kings of Spain were engaged in a domestic war against the Moors; and the northern monarchs of Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, were yet strangers to the passions and interests of the South. The religious ardour was more strongly felt by the princes of the second order, who held an important place in the feudal system. Their situation will naturally cast under four distinct heads the review of their names and characters; but I may escape some needless repetition, by observing at once, that courage and the exercise of arms are the common attribute of these

I. Godfrey
of Bouillon.

Christian adventurers. I. The first rank, both in war and council, is justly due to Godfrey of Bouillon; and happy would it have been for the crusaders, if they had trusted themselves to the sole conduct of that accomplished hero, a worthy representative of Charlemagne, from whom he was descended in the female line. His father was of the noble

* Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. x. p. 287) describes this *ορων κολωνος* as a mountain *υψηλον και βαθος και πλατος αξιολογωτατον*. In the siege of Nice, such were used by the Franks themselves as the materials of a wall.

race of the counts of Boulogne: Brabant, the lower province of Lorraine, was the inheritance of his mother; and by the emperor's bounty, he was himself invested with that ducal title, which has been improperly transferred to his lordship of Bouillon in the Ardennes*. In the service of Henry the fourth, he bore the great standard of the empire, and pierced with his lance the breast of Rodolph, the rebel king: Godfrey was the first who ascended the walls of Rome; and his sickness, his vow, perhaps his remorse for bearing arms against the pope, confirmed an early resolution of visiting the holy sepulchre, not as a pilgrim, but a deliverer. His valour was matured by prudence and moderation; his piety, though blind, was sincere; and, in the tumult of a camp, he practised the real and fictitious virtues of a convent. Superior to the private factions of the chiefs, he reserved his enmity for the enemies of Christ; and though he gained a kingdom by the attempt, his pure and disinterested zeal was acknowledged by his rivals. Godfrey of Bouillon† was accompanied by his two brothers, by Eustace the elder, who had succeeded to the county of Boulogne, and by the younger, Baldwin, a character of more ambiguous virtue. The duke of Lorraine was alike celebrated on either side of the Rhine: from his birth and education he was equally conversant with the French and Teutonic languages: the barons of France, Germany, and Lorraine, assembled their vassals; and the confederate force that marched under his banner was composed of fourscore thousand foot and about ten thousand horse. II. In the parliament that was held at Paris, in the king's

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* See, in the description of France, by the Abbe de Longuerue, the articles of *Boulogne*, part i. p. 54. *Brabant*, part ii. p. 47, 48. *Bouillon*, p. 134. On his departure, Godfrey sold or pawned Bouillon to the church for 1300 marks.

† See the family character of Godfrey, in William of Tyre, l. ix. c. 5—8; his previous design in Guilbert (p. 485), his sickness and vow, in Bernard, The-saur. (c. 78.)

II. Hugh of
Vermandois,
Robert of
Normandy,
Robert of
Flanders,
Stephen of
Chartres, &c.

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presence, about two months after the council of Clermont, Hugh count of Vermandois was the most conspicuous of the princes who assumed the cross. But the appellation of *the great* was applied, not so much to his merit or possessions (though neither were contemptible), as to the royal birth of the brother of the king of France. Robert duke of Normandy was the eldest son of William the Conqueror ; but on his father's death he was deprived of the kingdom of England, by his own indolence and the activity of his brother Rufus. The worth of Robert was degraded by an excessive levity and easiness of temper : his cheerfulness seduced him to the indulgence of pleasure ; his profuse liberality impoverished the prince and people ; his indiscriminate clemency multiplied the number of offenders ; and the amiable qualities of a private man became the essential defects of a sovereign. For the trifling sum of ten thousand marks he mortgaged Normandy during his absence to the English usurper ; but his engagement and behaviour in the holy war announced in Robert a reformation of manners, and restored him in some degree to the public esteem. Another Robert was count of Flanders, a royal province, which, in this century, gave three queens to the thrones of France, England, and Denmark : he was surnamed the sword and lance of the Christians ; but in the exploits of a soldier, he sometimes forgot the duties of a general. Stephen, count of Chartres, of Blois, and of Troyes, was one of the richest princes of the age ; and the number of his castles has been compared to the three hundred and sixty-five days of the year. His mind was improved by literature ; and, in the council of the chiefs, the eloquent Stephen was chosen to discharge the office of their president. These four were the principal leaders of the French, the Normans, and the pilgrims of the

British isles : but the list of the barons who were possessed of three or four towns would exceed, says a contemporary, the catalogue of the Trojan war.

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III. In the south of France, the command was assumed by Adhemar, bishop of Puy, the pope's legate, and by Raymond, count of St. Giles and Thoulouse, who added the prouder titles of duke of Narbonne and marquis of Provence. The former was a respectable prelate, alike qualified for this world and the next. The latter was a veteran warrior; who had fought against the Saracens of Spain, and who consecrated his declining age, not only to the deliverance, but to the perpetual service, of the holy sepulchre. His experience and riches gave him a strong ascendant in the Christian camp, whose distress he was often able, and sometimes willing to relieve. But it was easier for him to extort the praise of the Infidel, than to preserve the love of his subjects and associates. His eminent qualities were clouded by a temper, haughty, envious, and obstinate ; and though he resigned an ample patrimony for the cause of God, his piety, in the public opinion, was not exempt from avarice and ambition. A mercantile, rather than a martial spirit, prevailed among his *provincials* : a common name, which included the natives of Auvergne and Languedoc, the vassals of the kingdom of Burgundy or Arles. From the adjacent frontier of Spain, he drew a band of hardy adventurers ; as he marched through Lombardy, a crowd of Italians flocked to his standard ; and his united force consisted of one hundred thousand horse and foot. If Raymond was the first to inlist and the last to depart, the delay may be excused by the greatness of his preparation and the promise of an everlasting farewell. IV. The name of Bohemond, the son of Robert Guiscard, was already

III. Raymond of Thoulouse.

IV. Bohemond and Tancred.

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famous, by his double victory over the Greek emperor : but his father's will had reduced him to the principality of Tarentum, and the remembrance of his Eastern trophies, till he was awakened by the rumour and passage of the French pilgrims. It is in the person of this Norman chief that we may seek for the coolest policy and ambition. His conduct may justify a belief that he had secretly directed the design of the pope, which he affected to second with astonishment and zeal : at the siege of Amalphi, his example and discourse inflamed the passions of a confederate army ; he instantly tore his garment to supply crosses for the numerous candidates, and prepared to visit Constantinople and Asia, at the head of ten thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. Several princes of the Norman race accompanied this veteran general ; and his cousin Tancred was the partner, rather than the servant, of the war. In the accomplished character of Tancred, we discover all the virtues of a perfect knight, the true spirit of chivalry.

Such were the troops, and such the leaders who assumed the cross for the deliverance of the holy sepulchre. As soon as they were relieved by the absence of the plebeian multitude, they encouraged each other by interviews and messages to accomplish their vow, and hasten their departure. Their wives and sisters were desirous of partaking the danger and merit of the pilgrimage ; their portable treasures were conveyed in bars of silver and gold ; and the princes and barons were attended by their equipage of hounds and hawks, to amuse their leisure and to supply their table. The difficulty of procuring subsistence for so many myriads of men and horses engaged them to separate their forces ; their choice or situation determined the road ; and

it was agreed to meet in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and from thence to begin their operations against the Turks. From the banks of the Meuse and the Moselle, Godfrey of Bouillon followed the direct way of Germany, Hungary and Bulgaria ; and, as long as he exercised the sole command, every step afforded some proof of his prudence and virtue. On the confines of Hungary, he was stopped three weeks by a Christian people, to whom the name, or at least the abuse, of the cross was justly odious. The Hungarians still smarted with the wounds which they had received from the first pilgrims : in their turn they had abused the right of defence and retaliation ; and they had reason to apprehend a severe revenge from a hero of the same nation, and who was engaged in the same cause. But, after weighing the motives and the events, the virtuous duke was content to pity the crimes and misfortunes of his worthless brethren : and his twelve deputies, the messengers of peace, requested in his name a free passage and an equal market. To remove their suspicions, Godfrey trusted himself, and afterwards his brother, to the faith of Carloman king of Hungary, who treated them with a simple but hospitable entertainment : the treaty was sanctified by their common gospel ; and a proclamation, under pain of death, restrained the animosity and licence of the Latin soldiers. From Austria to Belgrade, they traversed the plains of Hungary, without enduring or offering an injury ; and the proximity of Carloman, who hovered on their flanks with his numerous cavalry, was a precaution not less useful for their safety than for his own. They reached the banks of the Save ; and no sooner had they passed the river than the king of Hungary restored the hostages, and saluted their departure with the fairest wishes for the success of their enterprise. With the

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same conduct and discipline, Godfrey pervaded the woods of Bulgaria and the frontiers of Thrace; and might congratulate himself, that he had almost reached the first term of his pilgrimage, without drawing his sword against a Christian adversary. After an easy and pleasant journey through Lombardy, from Turin to Aquileia, Raymond and his provincials marched forty days through the savage country of Dalmatia and Sclavonia. Bohemond had arms and vessels, foresight and discipline; and his name was not forgotten in the provinces of Epirus and Thessaly. Whatever obstacles he encountered were surmounted by his military conduct and the valour of Tancred. From the Alps to Apulia the march of Hugh the Great, of the two Roberts, and of Stephen of Chartres, through a wealthy country, and amidst the applauding Catholics, was a devout or triumphant progress: and within nine months from the feast of the Assumption, the day appointed by Urban, all the Latin princes had reached Constantinople.

Policy of the
emperor
Alexius
Comnenus,
A. D. 1096,
December—
A. D. 1097,
May.

In some Oriental tale I have read the fable of a shepherd, who was ruined by the accomplishment of his own wishes: he had prayed for water; the Ganges was turned into his grounds, and his stock and cottage were swept away by the inundation. Such was the fortune, or at least the apprehension of the Greek emperor Alexius Comnenus, whose name has already appeared in this history, and whose conduct is so differently represented by his daughter Anne *, and by the Latin writers. In the council

* Anna Comnena was born the 1st of December, A. D. 1083, indiction vii. (Alexiad, l. vi. p. 166, 167). At thirteen, the time of the first crusade, she was nubile, and perhaps married to the younger Nicephorus Bryennius, whom she fondly styles τὸν ἑμὸν καὶ πατέρα (l. x. p. 295, 296). Some moderns have *imagined*, that her enmity to Bohemond was the fruit of disappointed love. In the transactions of Constantinople and Nice, her partial accounts (Alex. l. x. xi. p. 283—317) may be opposed to the partiality of the Latins, but in their subsequent exploits she is brief and ignorant.

of Placentia, his ambassadors had solicited a moderate succour, perhaps of ten thousand soldiers : but he was astonished by the approach of so many potent chiefs and fanatic nations. The emperor fluctuated between hope and fear, between timidity and courage ; but in the crooked policy which he mistook for wisdom, I cannot believe, I cannot discern, that he maliciously conspired against the life or honour of the French heroes. The promiscuous multitudes of Peter the hermit were savage beasts, alike destitute of humanity and reason : nor was it possible for Alexius to prevent or deplore their destruction. The troops of Godfrey and his peers were less contemptible, but not less suspicious, to the Greek emperor. Their motives might be pure and pious ; but he was equally alarmed by his knowledge of the ambitious Bohemond, and his ignorance of the Transalpine chiefs : the courage of the French was blind and headstrong : they might be tempted by the luxury and wealth of Greece, and elated by the view and opinion of their invincible strength ; and Jerusalem might be forgotten in the prospect of Constantinople. After a long march and painful abstinence, the troops of Godfrey encamped in the plains of Thrace ; they heard with indignation that their brother, the count of Vermandois, was imprisoned by the Greeks ; and their reluctant duke was compelled to indulge them in some freedom of retaliation and rapine. They were appeased by the submission of Alexius ; he promised to supply their camp ; and as they refused, in the midst of winter, to pass the Bosphorus, their quarters were assigned among the gardens and palaces on the shores of that narrow sea. But an incurable jealousy still rankled in the minds of the two nations, who despised each other as slaves and barbarians. Ignorance is the ground of suspicion, and suspicion was inflamed into daily provocations : prejudice is blind,

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hunger is deaf; and Alexius is accused of a design to starve or assault the Latins in a dangerous post, on all sides encompassed with the waters. Godfrey sounded his trumpets, burst the net, overspread the plain, and insulted the suburbs: but the gates of Constantinople were strongly fortified; the ramparts were lined with archers; and after a doubtful conflict, both parties listened to the voice of peace and religion. The gifts and promises of the emperor insensibly soothed the fierce spirit of the western strangers; as a Christian warrior, he rekindled their zeal for the prosecution of their holy enterprise, which he engaged to second with his troops and treasures. On the return of spring, Godfrey was persuaded to occupy a pleasant and plentiful camp in Asia; and no sooner had he passed the Bosphorus, than the Greek vessels were suddenly recalled to the opposite shore. The same policy was repeated with the succeeding chiefs, who were swayed by the example, and weakened by the departure, of their foremost companions. By his skill and diligence, Alexius prevented the union of any two of the confederate armies at the same moment under the walls of Constantinople; and before the feast of the Pentecost not a Latin pilgrim was left on the coast of Europe.

He obtains
the homage
of the crusaders.

The same arms which threatened Europe might deliver Asia, and repel the Turks from the neighbouring shores of the Bosphorus and Hellespont. The fair provinces from Nice to Antioch were the recent patrimony of the Roman emperor; and his ancient and perpetual claim still embraced the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt. In his enthusiasm, Alexius indulged, or affected, the ambitious hope of leading his new allies to subvert the thrones of the East; but the calmer dictates of reason and temper dissuaded him from exposing his royal person to the faith of unknown and lawless Barbarians.

His prudence, or his pride, was content with extorting from the French princes an oath of homage and fidelity, and a solemn promise, that they would either restore, or hold, their Asiatic conquests, as the humble and loyal vassals of the Roman empire. Their independent spirit was fired at the mention of this foreign and voluntary servitude: they successively yielded to the dexterous application of gifts and flattery; and the first proselytes became the most eloquent and effectual missionaries to multiply the companions of their shame. The pride of Hugh of Vermandois was soothed by the honours of his captivity; and in the brother of the French king, the example of submission was prevalent and weighty. In the mind of Godfrey of Bouillon every human consideration was subordinate to the glory of God and the success of the crusade. He had firmly resisted the temptations of Bohemond and Raymond, who urged the attack and conquest of Constantinople. Alexius esteemed his virtues, deservedly named him the champion of the empire, and dignified his homage with the filial name and the rights of adoption. The hateful Bohemond was received as a true and ancient ally; and if the emperor reminded him of former hostilities, it was only to praise the valour that he had displayed, and the glory that he had acquired in the fields of Durazzo and Larissa. The son of Guiscard was lodged and entertained, and served with imperial pomp: one day, as he passed through the gallery of the palace, a door was carelessly left open to expose a pile of gold and silver, of silk and gems, of curious and costly furniture, that was heaped in seeming disorder, from the floor to the roof of the chamber. "What conquests," exclaimed the ambitious miser, "might not be achieved by the possession of such a treasure?" "It is your own," replied a Greek

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attendant, who watched the motions of his soul ; and Bohemond, after some hesitation, condescended to accept this magnificent present. The Norman was flattered by the assurance of an independent principality ; and Alexius eluded, rather than denied, his daring demand of the office of great domestic, or general, of the East. The two Roberts, the son of the conqueror of England, and the kinsman of three queens, bowed in their turn before the Byzantine throne. A private letter of Stephen of Chartres attests his admiration of the emperor, the most excellent and liberal of men, who taught him to believe that he was a favourite, and promised to educate and establish his youngest son. In his southern province, the count of St. Giles and Thoulouse faintly recognised the supremacy of the king of France, a prince of a foreign nation and language. At the head of a hundred thousand men, he declared that he was the soldier and servant of Christ alone, and that the Greek might be satisfied with an equal treaty of alliance and friendship. His obstinate resistance enhanced the value and the price of his submission ; and he shone, says the princess Anne, among the Barbarians as the sun amidst the stars of heaven. His disgust of the noise and insolence of the French, his suspicions of the designs of Bohemond, the emperor imparted to his faithful Raymond ; and that aged statesman might clearly discern, that however false in friendship, he was sincere in his enmity. The spirit of chivalry was last subdued in the person of Tancred ; and none could deem themselves dishonoured by the imitation of that gallant knight. He disdained the gold and flattery of the Greek monarch ; assaulted in his presence an insolent patrician ; escaped to Asia in the habit of a private soldier ; and yielded with a sigh to the authority of Bohemond and the interest of the Christian cause.

The best and most ostensible reason was the impossibility of passing the sea and accomplishing their vow, without the licence and the vessels of Alexius : but they cherished a secret hope, that as soon as they trod the continent of Asia, their swords would obliterate their shame, and dissolve the engagement, which on this side might not be very faithfully performed. The ceremony of their homage was grateful to a people who had long since considered pride as the substitute of power. High on his throne, the emperor sat mute and immoveable : his majesty was adored by the Latin princes ; and they submitted to kiss either his feet or his knees, an indignity which their own writers are ashamed to confess and unable to deny.

Private or public interest suppressed the murmurs of the dukes and counts ; but a French baron (he is supposed to be Robert of Paris) presumed to ascend the throne, and to place himself by the side of Alexius. The sage reproof of Baldwin provoked him to exclaim, in his barbarous idiom, “ Who is “ this rustic, that keeps his seat, while so many “ valiant captains are standing round him ? ” The emperor maintained his silence, dissembled his indignation, and questioned his interpreter concerning the meaning of the words, which he partly suspected from the universal language of gesture and countenance. Before the departure of the pilgrims, he endeavoured to learn the name and condition of the audacious baron. “ I am a Frenchman,” replied Robert, “ of the purest and most ancient nobility of “ my country. All that I know is, that there is a “ church in my neighbourhood, the resort of those “ who are desirous of approving their valour in single “ combat. Till an enemy appears, they address “ their prayers to God and his saints. That church “ I have frequently visited, but never have I found

Insolence of
the Franks.

CHAP. "an antagonist who dared to accept my defiance."
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Alexius dismissed the challenger with some prudent advice for his conduct in the Turkish warfare; and history repeats with pleasure this lively example of the manners of his age and country.

Their re-
view, and
numbers,
A.D. 1007,
May.

The conquest of Asia was undertaken and achieved by Alexander, with thirty-five thousand Macedonians and Greeks*; and his best hope was in the strength and discipline of his phalanx of infantry. The principal force of the crusaders consisted in their cavalry; and when that force was mustered in the plains of Bithynia, the knights and their martial attendants on horseback amounted to one hundred thousand fighting men, completely armed with the helmet and coat of mail. The value of these soldiers deserved a strict and authentic account; and the flower of European chivalry might furnish, in a first effort, this formidable body of heavy horse. A part of the infantry might be enrolled for the service of scouts, pioneers, and archers; but the promiscuous crowd were lost in their own disorder; and we depend not on the eyes or knowledge, but on the belief and fancy, of a chaplain of count Baldwin, in the estimate of six hundred thousand pilgrims able to bear arms, besides the priests and monks, the women and children, of the Latin camp. The reader starts; and before he is recovered from his surprise, I shall add, on the same testimony, that if all who took the cross had accomplished their vow, above SIX MILLIONS would have migrated from Europe to Asia. Under this oppression of faith, I derive some relief from a more sagacious and thinking writert, who, after the

* There is some diversity on the numbers of his army: but no authority can be compared with that of Ptolemy, who states it at five thousand horse and thirty thousand foot. (See Usher's *Annales*, p. 152.)

† Gulbert, p. 556. Yet even his gentle opposition implies an immense multitude. By Urban II. in the fervour of his zeal, it is only rated at 300,000 pilgrims (*Epist.* xvi. *Concil.* tom. xii. p. 791).

same review of the cavalry, accuses the credulity of the priest of Chartres, and even doubts whether the *Cisalpine* regions (in the geography of a Frenchman) were sufficient to produce and pour forth such incredible multitudes. The coolest scepticism will remember, that of these religious volunteers great numbers never beheld Constantinople and Nice. Of enthusiasm the influence is irregular and transient : many were detained at home by reason or cowardice, by poverty or weakness ; and many were repulsed by the obstacles of the way, the more insuperable as they were unforeseen to these ignorant fanatics. The savage countries of Hungary and Bulgaria were whitened with their bones ; their vanguard was cut in pieces by the Turkish sultan ; and the loss of the first adventure, by the sword, or climate, or fatigue, has already been stated at three hundred thousand men. Yet the myriads that survived, that marched, that pressed forwards on the holy pilgrimage, were a subject of astonishment to themselves and to the Greeks. The copious energy of her language sinks under the efforts of the princess Anne : the images of locusts, of leaves and flowers, of the sands of the sea, or the stars of heaven, imperfectly represent what she had seen and heard ; and the daughter of Alexius exclaims, that Europe was loosened from its foundations and hurled against Asia. The ancient hosts of Darius and Xerxes labour under the same doubt of a vague and indefinite magnitude ; but I am inclined to believe, that a larger number has never been contained within the lines of a single camp than at the siege of Nice, the first operation of the Latin princes. Their motives, their characters, and their arms, have been already displayed. Of their troops the most numerous portion were natives of France : the Low Countries, the banks of the Rhine, and Apulia, sent a powerful reinforcement : some bands of adven-

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turers were drawn from Spain, Lombardy, and England; and from the distant bogs and mountains of Ireland or Scotland.

Siege of
Nice,
A. D. 1097.
May 14—
June 20.

I have expatiated with pleasure on the first steps of the crusaders, as they paint the manners and character of Europe: but I shall abridge the tedious and uniform narrative of their blind achievements, which were performed by strength, and are described by ignorance. From their first station in the neighbourhood of Nicomedia, they advanced in successive divisions; passed the contracted limit of the Greek empire; opened a road through the hills, and commenced, by the siege of his capital, their pious warfare against the Turkish sultan. His kingdom of Roum extended from the Hellespont to the confines of Syria, and barred the pilgrimage of Jerusalem: his name was Kilidge-Arslan, or Soliman*, of the race of Seljuk, and the son of the first conqueror; and in the defence of a land which the Turks considered as their own, he deserved the praise of his enemies, by whom alone he is known to posterity. Yielding to the first impulse of the torrent, he deposited his family and treasure in Nice; retired to the mountains with fifty thousand horse; and twice descended to assault the camps or quarters of the Christian besiegers, which formed an imperfect circle of above six miles. The lofty and solid walls of Nice were covered by a deep ditch, and flanked by three hundred and seventy towers; and on the verge of Christendom, the Moslems were trained in arms, and inflamed by religion. Before this city, the French princes occupied their stations, and prosecuted their attacks without correspondence or subordination: emulation prompted their valour; but their valour was sullied by cruelty, and their emula-

* His Mussalman appellation of Soliman is used by the Latins, and his character is highly embellished by Tasso.

tion degenerated into envy and civil discord. In the siege of Nice the arts and engines of antiquity were employed by the Latins ; the mine and the battering-ram, the tortoise, and the belfry or moveable turret, artificial fire, and the *catapult* and *balist*, the sling, and the cross-bow for the casting of stones and darts*. In the space of seven weeks much labour and blood were expended ; and some progress, especially by count Raymond, was made on the side of the besiegers. But the Turks could protract their resistance and secure their escape, as long as they were masters of the lake Ascanius, which stretches several miles to the westward of the city. The means of conquest were supplied by the prudence and industry of Alexius ; a great number of boats was transported on sledges from the sea to the lake ; they were filled with the most dexterous of his archers ; the flight of the sultana was intercepted ; Nice was invested by land and water ; and a Greek emissary persuaded the inhabitants to accept his master's protection, and to save themselves, by a timely surrender, from the rage of the savages of Europe. In the moment of victory, or at least of hope, the crusaders, thirsting for blood and plunder, were awed by the Imperial banner that streamed from the citadel ; and Alexius guarded with jealous vigilance this important conquest. The murmurs of the chiefs were stifled by honour or interest ; and, after a halt of nine days, they directed their march towards Phrygia, under the guidance of a Greek general, whom they suspected of secret connivance with the sultan. The consort and the principal servants of Soliman had been honourably restored without ransom ; and the

* On the fortifications, engines, and sieges of the middle ages, see Muratori (*Antiquitat. Italice*, tom. ii. dissert. xxvi. p. 452—524). The *belfredus*, from whence our belfry, was the moveable tower of the ancients (*Ducange*, tom. i. p. 608).

CHAP. emperor's generosity to the *miscreants* was interpreted
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Battle of
Dorylæum,
A.D. 1097,
July 4.

Soliman was rather provoked than dismayed by the loss of his capital : he admonished his subjects and allies of this strange invasion of the western Barbarians ; the Turkish emirs obeyed the call of loyalty or religion ; the Turkman hordes encamped round his standard ; and his whole force is loosely stated by the Christians at two hundred, or even three hundred and sixty, thousand horse. Yet he patiently waited till they had left behind them the sea and the Greek frontier ; and, hovering on the flanks, observed their careless and confident progress in two columns beyond the view of each other. Some miles before they could reach Dorylæum in Phrygia, the left, and less numerous, division was surprised, and attacked, and almost oppressed, by the Turkish cavalry. The heat of the weather, the clouds of arrows, and the barbarous onset, overwhelmed the crusaders ; they lost their order and confidence, and the fainting fight was sustained by the personal valour, rather than by the military conduct, of Bohemond, Tancred, and Robert of Normandy. They were revived by the welcome banners of duke Godfrey, who flew to their succour, with the count of Vermandois, and sixty thousand horse ; and was followed by Raymond of Tholouse, the bishop of Puy, and the remainder of the sacred army. Without a moment's pause, they formed in new order, and advanced to a second battle. They were received with equal resolution ; and, in their common disdain for the unwarlike people of Greece and Asia, it was confessed on both sides that the Turks and the Franks were the only nations entitled to the appellation of soldiers. Their encounter was varied and balanced by the contrast of arms and discipline ; of the direct charge, and wheeling evolutions ; of the couched lance, and the brandished

javelin ; of a weighty broad-sword, and a crooked sabre ; of cumbrous armour, and thin flowing robes ; and of the long Tartar bow, and the *arbalist* or cross-bow, a deadly weapon, yet unknown to the Orientals. As long as the horses were fresh and the quivers full, Soliman maintained the advantage of the day ; and four thousand Christians were pierced by the Turkish arrows. In the evening swiftness yielded to strength ; on either side the numbers were equal, or at least as great as any ground could hold, or any generals could manage ; but in turning the hills, the last division of Raymond and his *provincials* was led, perhaps without design, on the rear of an exhausted enemy ; and the long contest was determined. Besides a nameless and unaccountable multitude, three thousand *Pagan* knights were slain in the battle and pursuit ; the camp of Soliman was pillaged ; and in the variety of precious spoil, the curiosity of the Latins was amused with foreign arms and apparel, and the new aspect of dromedaries and camels. The importance of the victory was proved by the hasty retreat of the sultan : reserving ten thousand guards of the relics of his army, Soliman evacuated the kingdom of Roum, and hastened to implore the aid, and kindle the resentment, of his Eastern brethren. In a march of five hundred miles, the crusaders traversed the Lesser Asia, through a wasted land and deserted towns, without either finding a friend or an enemy. The geographer * may trace the position of Dorylæum, Antioch of Pisidia, Iconium, Archelais, and Germanicia, and may compare those classic appellations with the modern names of Eskishehr the old city, Akshehr the white city, Cogni, Erekli, and Marash. As the

March
through the
Lesser Asia,
July—September.

* The curious reader may compare the classic learning of Cellarius, and the geographical science of D'Anville. William of Tyre is the only historian of the crusades who has any knowledge of antiquity ; and M. Otter trod almost in the footsteps of the Franks from Constantinople to Antioch (*Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, tom. i. p. 35—88).

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pilgrims passed over a desert, where a draught of water is exchanged for silver, they were tormented by intolerable thirst ; and, on the banks of the first rivulet, their haste and intemperance were still more pernicious to the disorderly throng. They climbed with toil and danger the steep and slippery sides of mount Taurus : many of the soldiers cast away their arms to secure their footsteps ; and had not terror preceded their van, the long and trembling file might have been driven down the precipice by a handful of resolute enemies. Two of their most respectable chiefs, the duke of Lorraine and the count of Tholouse, were carried in litters : Raymond was raised, as it is said, by miracle, from a hopeless malady ; and Godfrey had been torn by a bear, as he pursued that rough and perilous chase in the mountains of Pisidia.

Baldwin
founds the
principality
of Edessa,
A. D. 1097
—1151.

To improve the general consternation, the cousin of Bohemond and the brother of Godfrey were detached from the main army with their respective squadrons of five and of seven hundred knights. They overran in a rapid career the hills and sea-coast of Cilicia, from Cogni to the Syrian gates : the Norman standard was first planted on the walls of Tarsus and Malmistra ; but the proud injustice of Baldwin at length provoked the patient and generous Italian ; and they turned their consecrated swords against each other in a private and profane quarrel. Honour was the motive, and fame the reward, of Tancred ; but fortune smiled on the more selfish enterprise of his rival *. He was called to the assistance of a Greek or Armenian tyrant, who had been suffered under the Turkish yoke to reign over the Christians of Edessa. Baldwin accepted the cha-

* This detached conquest of Edessa is best represented by Fulcherius Carnotensis, or of Chartres (in the collections of Bongarsius, Duchesne, and Martenne), the valiant chaplain of count Baldwin (*Esprit des Croisades*, tom. i. p. 13, 14). In the disputes of that prince with Tancred, his partiality is encountered by the partiality of Radulphus Cadomensis, the soldier and historian of the gallant marquis.

racter of his son and champion ; but no sooner was he introduced into the city, than he inflamed the people to the massacre of his father, occupied the throne and treasure, extended his conquests over the hills of Armenia and the plain of Mesopotamia, and founded the first principality of the Franks or Latins, which subsisted fifty-four years, beyond the Euphrates*.

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Before the Franks could enter Syria, the summer, and even the autumn, were completely wasted : the siege of Antioch, or the separation and repose of the army during the winter season, was strongly debated in their council : the love of arms and the holy sepulchre urged them to advance ; and reason perhaps was on the side of resolution, since every hour of delay abates the fame and force of the invader, and multiplies the resources of defensive war. The capital of Syria was protected by the river Orontes ; and the *iron bridge*, of nine arches, derives its name from the massy gates of the two towers which are constructed at either end. They were opened by the sword of the duke of Normandy : his victory gave entrance to three hundred thousand crusaders ; an account which may allow some scope for losses and desertion, but which clearly detects much exaggeration in the review of Nice. In the description of Antioch† it is not easy to define a middle term between her ancient magnificence, under the successors of Alexander and Augustus, and the modern aspect of Turkish desolation. The Tetrapolis, or four cities, if they retained their name and position, must have left a large vacuity in a circumference of twelve miles ; and that measure, as well as the number of four hun-

Siege of
Antioch,
A. D. 1097,
Oct. 21—
A. D. 1098,
June 3.

* See De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. p. 456.

† For Antioch, see Pococke (*Description of the East*, vol. ii. p. i. p. 188—193), Otter (*Voyage en Turquie*, &c. tom. i. p. 81, &c.), the Turkish geographer (in Otter's notes), the *Index Geographicus* of Schultens (*ad calcem Bohadin. Vit. Saladin.*), and Abulfeda (*Tabula Syriæ*, p. 115, 116, vers. Reiske).

dred towers, are not perfectly consistent with the five gates, so often mentioned in the history of the siege. Yet Antioch must have still flourished as a great and populous capital. At the head of the Turkish emirs, Baghisian, a veteran chief, commanded in the place : his garrison was composed of six or seven thousand horse, and fifteen or twenty thousand foot : one hundred thousand Moslems are said to have fallen by the sword ; and their numbers were probably inferior to the Greeks, Armenians, and Syrians, who had been no more than fourteen years the slaves of the house of Seljuk. In the slow and successive labours of a siege the crusaders were supine and ignorant, without skill to contrive, or money to purchase, or industry to use, the artificial engines and implements of assault. In the conquest of Nice they had been powerfully assisted by the wealth and knowledge of the Greek emperor : his absence was poorly supplied by some Genoese and Pisan vessels, that were attracted by religion or trade to the coast of Syria : the stores were scanty, the return precarious, and the communication difficult and dangerous. Indolence or weakness had prevented the Franks from investing the entire circuit ; and the perpetual freedom of two gates relieved the wants and recruited the garrison of the city. At the end of seven months, after the ruin of their cavalry, and an enormous loss by famine, desertion, and fatigue, the progress of the crusaders was imperceptible, and their success remote, if the Latin Ulysses, the artful and ambitious Bohemond, had not employed the arms of cunning and deceit. The Christians of Antioch were numerous and discontented : Phirouz, a Syrian renegado, had acquired the favour of the emir and the command of three towers ; and the merit of his repentance disguised to the Latins, and perhaps to himself, the foul design of perfidy and treason. A secret correspondence, for

their mutual interest, was soon established between Phirouz and the prince of Tarento ; and Bohemond declared in the council of the chiefs, that he could deliver the city into their hands. But he claimed the sovereignty of Antioch as the reward of his service ; and the proposal which had been rejected by the envy, was at length extorted from the distress, of his equals. The nocturnal surprise was executed by the French and Norman princes, who ascended in person the scaling-ladders that were thrown from the walls : their new proselyte, after the murder of his too scrupulous brother, embraced and introduced the servants of Christ ; the army rushed through the gates ; and the Moslems soon found, that, although mercy was hopeless, resistance was impotent. But the citadel still refused to surrender ; and the victors themselves were speedily encompassed and besieged by the innumerable forces of Kerboga, prince of Mosul, who, with twenty-eight Turkish emirs, advanced to the deliverance of Antioch. Five-and-twenty days the Christians spent on the verge of destruction ; and the proud lieutenant of the caliph and the sultan left them only the choice of servitude or death. In this extremity they collected the relics of their strength, sallied from the town, and in a single memorable day annihilated or dispersed the host of Turks and Arabians, which they might safely report to have consisted of six hundred thousand men *. The causes of the victory of Antioch were the fearless despair of the Franks ; and the surprise, the discord, perhaps the errors, of their unskilful and

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Victory of
the cru-
saders,
A. D. 1098,
June 28.

* In describing the host of Kerboga, most of the Latin historians, the author of the *Gesta* (p. 17), Robert Monachus (p. 56), Baldric (p. 111), Fulcherius Carnotensis (p. 392), Guibert (p. 512), William of Tyre (l. vi. c. 3, p. 714), Bernard Thesaurarius (c. 39, p. 695), are content with the vague expressions of infinita multitudo, immensum agmen, innumeræ copiæ or gentes, which correspond with the *μετα αναριθμητων χιλιαδων* of Anna Comnena (*Alexias*, l. xi. p. 318—320). The numbers of the Turks are fixed by Albert Aquensis at 200,000 (l. iv. c. 10, p. 242), and by Radulphus Cadomensis at 400,000 horse (c. 72, p. 308).

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presumptuous adversaries. The battle is described with as much disorder as it was fought ; but we may observe the tent of Kerboga, a moveable and spacious palace, enriched with the luxury of Asia, and capable of holding above two thousand persons ; we may distinguish his three thousand guards, who were cased, the horses as well as the men, in complete steel.

Their famine
and distress
at Antioch.

In the eventful period of the siege and defence of Antioch, the crusaders were, alternately, exalted by victory or sunk in despair ; either swelled with plenty or emaciated with hunger. In the first days of the siege and the possession of Antioch, the Franks consumed with wanton and thoughtless prodigality the frugal subsistence of weeks and months : the desolate country no longer yielded a supply ; and from that country they were at length excluded by the arms of the besieging Turks. Disease, the faithful companion of want, was envenomed by the rains of the winter, the summer heats, unwholesome food, and the close imprisonment of multitudes. The pictures of famine and pestilence are always the same, and always disgusting ; and our imagination may suggest the nature of their sufferings and their resources. The remains of treasure or spoil were eagerly lavished in the purchase of the vilest nourishment ; and dreadful must have been the calamities of the poor, since, after paying three marks of silver for a goat and fifteen for a lean camel, the count of Flanders was reduced to beg a dinner, and duke Godfrey to borrow a horse. Sixty thousand horses had been reviewed in the camp : before the end of the siege they were diminished to two thousand, and scarcely two hundred fit for service could be mustered on the day of battle. Weakness of body and terror of mind extinguished the ardent enthusiasm of the pilgrims ; and every motive of honour and religion was subdued by the desire of life. Among the chiefs, three heroes may be found without

fear or reproach : Godfrey of Bouillon was supported by his magnanimous piety ; Bohemond by ambition and interest ; and Tancred declared, in the true spirit of chivalry, that as long as he was at the head of forty knights, he would never relinquish the enterprise of Palestine. But the count of Tholouse and Provence was suspected of a voluntary indisposition : the duke of Normandy was recalled from the sea-shore by the censures of the church ; Hugh the Great, though he led the vanguard of the battle, embraced an ambiguous opportunity of returning to France ; and Stephen count of Chartres basely deserted the standard which he bore, and the council in which he presided. The soldiers were discouraged by the flight of William viscount of Melun, surnamed the *Carpenter*, from the weighty strokes of his axe ; and the saints were scandalized by the fall of Peter the Hermit, who, after arming Europe against Asia, attempted to escape from the penance of a necessary fast. Of the multitude of recreant warriors, the names (says an historian) are blotted from the book of life ; and the opprobrious epithet of the rope-dancers was applied to the deserters who dropt in the night from the walls of Antioch. The emperor Alexius *, who seemed to advance to the succour of the Latins, was dismayed by the assurance of their hopeless condition. They expected their fate in silent despair ; oaths and punishments were tried without effect ; and to rouse the soldiers to the defence of the walls, it was found necessary to set fire to their quarters.

The prudence or fortune of the Franks had delayed their invasion till the decline of the Turkish empire. Under the manly government of the three first sultans, the kingdoms of Asia were united in peace and

The state of
the Turks
and caliphs
of Egypt.

* See the progress of the crusade, the retreat of Alexius, the victory of Antioch, and the conquest of Jerusalem, in the *Alexiad*, l. xi. p. 317—327. Anna was so prone to exaggeration, that she magnifies the exploits of the Latins.

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justice ; and the innumerable armies which they led in person were equal in courage, and superior in discipline, to the Barbarians of the West. But at the time of the crusade, the inheritance of Malek Shaw was disputed by his four sons ; their private ambition was insensible of the public danger ; and, in the vicissitudes of their fortune, the royal vassals were ignorant, or regardless, of the true object of their allegiance. The twenty-eight emirs, who marched with the standard of Kerboga, were his rivals or enemies ; their hasty levies were drawn from the towns and tents of Mesopotamia and Syria ; and the Turkish veterans were employed or consumed in the civil wars beyond the Tigris. The caliph of Egypt embraced this opportunity of weakness and discord, to recover his ancient possessions ; and his sultan Aphdal besieged Jerusalem and Tyre, expelled the children of Ortok, and restored in Palestine the civil and ecclesiastical authority of the Fatimites. They heard with astonishment of the vast armies of Christians that had passed from Europe to Asia, and rejoiced in the sieges and battles which broke the power of the Turks, the adversaries of their sect and monarchy. But the same Christians were the enemies of the prophet ; and from the overthrow of Nice and Antioch, the motive of their enterprise, which was gradually understood, would urge them forwards to the banks of the Jordan, or perhaps of the Nile. An intercourse of epistles and embassies, which rose and fell with the events of war, was maintained between the throne of Cairo and the camp of the Latins ; and their adverse pride was the result of ignorance and enthusiasm. The ministers of Egypt declared in a haughty, or insinuated in a milder tone, that their sovereign, the true and lawful commander of the faithful, had rescued Jerusalem from the Turkish yoke ; and that the pilgrims, if they would divide their numbers, and lay

aside their arms, should find a safe and hospitable reception at the sepulchre of Jesus. In the belief of their lost condition, the caliph Mostali despised their arms and imprisoned their deputies : the conquest and victory of Antioch prompted him to solicit those formidable champions with gifts of horses and silk robes, of vases, and purses of gold and silver ; and in his estimate of their merit or power, the first place was assigned to Bohemond, and the second to Godfrey. In either fortune the answer of the crusaders was firm and uniform : they disdained to inquire into the private claims or possessions of the followers of Mahomet : whatsoever was his name or nation, the usurper of Jerusalem was their enemy ; and instead of prescribing the mode and terms of their pilgrimage, it was only by a timely surrender of the city and province, their sacred right, that he could deserve their alliance, or deprecate their impending and irresistible attack *.

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Yet this attack, when they were within the view and reach of their glorious prize, was suspended above ten months after the defeat of Kerboga. The zeal and courage of the crusaders were chilled in the moment of victory ; and, instead of marching to improve the consternation, they hastily dispersed to enjoy the luxury, of Syria. The causes of this strange delay may be found in the want of strength and subordination. In the painful and various service of Antioch the cavalry was annihilated ; many thousands of every rank had been lost by famine, sickness, and desertion : the same abuse of plenty had been productive of a third famine ; and the alternative of intemperance and distress had generated a pestilence, which swept away above fifty thousand of the pil-

Delay of
the Franks,
A. D. 1098,
July—
A. D. 1099,
May.

* See the transactions between the caliph of Egypt and the crusaders, in William of Tyre (l. iv. c. 24, l. vi. c. 19), and Albert Aquensis (l. iii. c. 59), who are more sensible of their importance than the contemporary writers.

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Their march
to Jerusalem,
A. D. 1099,
May 13—
June 6.

Siege and
conquest of
Jerusalem,
A. D. 1099,
June 7—
July 15.

grims. Few were able to command, and none were willing to obey : the domestic feuds, which had been stifled by common fear, were again renewed in acts, or at least in sentiments, of hostility ; the fortune of Baldwin and Bohemond excited the envy of their companions ; the bravest knights were inlisted for the defence of their new principalities ; and count Raymond exhausted his troops and treasures in an idle expedition into the heart of Syria. The winter was consumed in discord and disorder ; a sense of honour and religion was rekindled in the spring ; and the private soldiers, less susceptible of ambition and jealousy, awakened with angry clamours the indolence of their chiefs. In the month of May the relics of this mighty host proceeded from Antioch to Laodicea : about forty thousand Latins, of whom no more than fifteen hundred horse, and twenty thousand foot, were capable of immediate service. Their easy march was continued between mount Libanus and the sea-shore ; their wants were liberally supplied by the coasting traders of Genoa and Pisa ; and they drew large contributions from the emirs of Tripoli, Tyre, Sidon, Acre, and Cæsarea, who granted a free passage, and promised to follow the example of Jerusalem. From Cæsarea they advanced into the midland country ; their clerks recognized the sacred geography of Lydda, Ramla, Emaus, and Bethlem, and as soon as they descried the holy city, the crusaders forgot their toils and claimed their reward*.

Jerusalem has derived some reputation from the number and importance of her memorable sieges. It was not till after a long and obstinate contest that Babylon and Rome could prevail against the obstinacy of the people, the craggy ground that might

* The greatest part of the march of the Franks is traced, and most accurately traced, in Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem (p. 17—67) ; un des meilleurs morceaux, sans contredit, qu'on ait dans ce genre (D'Auville, Memoire sur Jerusalem, p. 27).

supersede the necessity of fortifications, and the walls and towers that would have fortified the most accessible plain. These obstacles were diminished in the age of the crusades. The bulwarks had been completely destroyed and imperfectly restored: the Jews, their nation and worship, were for ever banished; but nature is less changeable than man, and the site of Jerusalem, though somewhat softened and somewhat removed, was still strong against the assaults of an enemy. By the experience of a recent siege, and a three years' possession, the Saracens of Egypt had been taught to discern, and in some degree to remedy, the defects of a place, which religion, as well as honour, forbade them to resign. Aladin, or Iftikhar, the caliph's lieutenant, was intrusted with the defence: his policy strove to restrain the native Christians by the dread of their own ruin and that of the holy sepulchre; to animate the Moslems by the assurance of temporal and eternal rewards. His garrison is said to have consisted of forty thousand Turks and Arabians; and if he could muster twenty thousand of the inhabitants, it must be confessed that the besieged were more numerous than the besieging army*. Had the diminished strength and numbers of the Latins allowed them to grasp the whole circumference of four thousand yards (about two English miles and a half†), to what useful purpose should they have descended into the valley of Ben Himmon

* The lively scepticism of Voltaire is balanced with sense and erudition by the French author of the *Esprit des Croisades* (tom. iv. p. 386—388), who observes, that, according to the Arabians, the inhabitants of Jerusalem must have exceeded 200,000; that, in the siege of Titus, Josephus collects 1,300,000 Jews; that they are stated by Tacitus himself at 600,000; and that the largest defalcation that his *accepimus* can justify will still leave them more numerous than the Roman army.

† Maundrell, who diligently perambulated the walls, found a circuit of 4630 paces, or 4167 English yards (p. 109, 110); from an authentic plan D'Anville concludes a measure nearly similar, of 1960 French *toises* (p. 23—29), in his scarce and valuable tract. For the topography of Jerusalem, see Reland (*Palestina*, tom. ii. p. 832—860).

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and torrent of Cedron *, or approached the precipices of the South and East, from whence they had nothing either to hope or fear? Their siege was more reasonably directed against the northern and western sides of the city. Godfrey of Bouillon erected his standard on the first swell of mount Calvary: to the left, as far as St. Stephen's gate, the line of attack was continued by Tancred and the two Roberts; and count Raymond established his quarters from the citadel to the foot of mount Sion, which was no longer included within the precincts of the city. On the fifth day the crusaders made a general assault, in the fanatic hope of battering down the walls without engines, and of scaling them without ladders. By the dint of brutal force they burst the first barrier, but they were driven back with shame and slaughter to the camp; and time and labour were found to be the only means of victory. The time of the siege was indeed fulfilled in forty days, but they were forty days of calamity and anguish. A repetition of the old complaint of famine may be imputed in some degree to the voracious or disorderly appetite of the Franks; but the stony soil of Jerusalem is almost destitute of water; the scanty springs and hasty torrents were dry in the summer season; nor was the thirst of the besiegers relieved, as in the city, by the artificial supply of cisterns and aqueducts. The circumjacent country is equally destitute of trees for the uses of shade or building; but some large beams were discovered in a cave by the crusaders: a wood near Sichem, the enchanted grove of Tasso †, was cut down; the necessary timber was

* Jerusalem was possessed only of the torrent of Kedron, dry in summer, and of the little spring or brook of Siloe (Reland, tom. i. p. 294, 300). Both strangers and natives complained of the want of water, which in time of war was studiously aggravated. Within the city Tacitus mentions a perennial fountain, an aqueduct, and cisterns for rain water. The aqueduct was conveyed from the rivulet Tekoe or Etham, which is likewise mentioned by Bohadin (in Vit. Saladin. p. 238).

† Gierusalemme Liberata, canto xiii. It is pleasant enough to observe how Tasso has copied and embellished the minutest details of the siege.

transported to the camp by the vigour and dexterity of Tancred ; and the engines were framed by some Genoese artists, who had fortunately landed in the harbour of Jaffa. Two moveable turrets were constructed at the expense, and in the stations, of the duke of Lorraine and the count of Thoulouse, and rolled forwards with devout labour, not to the most accessible, but to the most neglected parts of the fortification. Raymond's tower was reduced to ashes by the fire of the besieged, but his colleague was more vigilant and successful : the enemies were driven by his archers from the rampart ; the drawbridge was let down ; and on a Friday, at three in the afternoon, the day and hour of the Passion, Godfrey of Bouillon stood victorious on the walls of Jerusalem. His example was followed on every side by the emulation of valour ; and about four hundred and sixty years after the conquest of Omar, the holy city was rescued from the Mahometan yoke. In the pillage of public and private wealth, the adventurers had agreed to respect the exclusive property of the first occupant ; and the spoils of the great mosque, seventy lamps and massy vases of gold and silver, rewarded the diligence, and displayed the generosity, of Tancred.

Eight days after this memorable event, which pope Urban did not live to hear, the Latin chiefs proceeded to the election of a king, to guard and govern their conquests in Palestine. Hugh the Great, and Stephen of Chartres, had retired with some loss of reputation, which they strove to regain by a second crusade and an honourable death. Baldwin was established at Edessa, and Bohemond at Antioch ; and two Roberts, the duke of Normandy and the count of Flanders, preferred their fair inheritance in the West to a doubtful competition or a barren sceptre. The jealousy and ambition of Raymond were condemned by his own followers, and the free, the just,

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Election :
reign of
Godfrey of
Bouillon,
A. D. 1099
July 23—
A. D. 1100
July 18.

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Battle of
Ascalon,
A. D. 1099,
August 12.

* See the election, the battle of Ascalon, &c. in William of Tyre, l. ix. c. 1—12, and in the conclusion of the Latin historians of the first crusade.

both in council and action, had been swept away in the last plague of Antioch. Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa, had long been trained in the secret policy of Rome: he brought a fleet of his countrymen to the succour of the Holy Land, and was installed, without a competitor, the spiritual and temporal head of the church. The new patriarch immediately grasped the sceptre which had been acquired by the toil and blood of the victorious pilgrims; and both Godfrey and Bohemond submitted to receive at his hands the investiture of their feudal possessions. Nor was this sufficient; Daimbert claimed the immediate property of Jerusalem and Jaffa: instead of a firm and generous refusal, the hero negotiated with the priest; a quarter of either city was ceded to the church; and the modest bishop was satisfied with an eventual reversion of the rest, on the death of Godfrey without children, or on the future acquisition of a new seat at Cairo or Damascus.

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Without this indulgence the conqueror would have almost been stripped of his infant kingdom, which consisted only of Jerusalem and Jaffa, with about twenty villages and towns of the adjacent country. Within this narrow verge the Mahometans were still lodged in some impregnable castles; and the husbandman, the trader, and the pilgrims, were exposed to daily and domestic hostility. By the arms of Godfrey himself, and of the two Baldwins, his brother and cousin, who succeeded to the throne, the Latins breathed with more ease and safety; and at length they equalled, in the extent of their dominions, though not in the millions of their subjects, the ancient princes of Judah and Israel. After the reduction of the maritime cities of Laodicea, Tripoli, Tyre, and Ascalon *, which were powerfully assisted by the

The king-
dom of
Jerusalem
A. D. 1099
—1187.

* These sieges are related, each in its proper place, in the great history of William of Tyre, from the 9th to the 18th book, and more briefly told by Bernardus Thesau.

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fleets of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, and even of Flanders and Norway, the range of sea-coast from Scanderoon to the borders of Egypt was possessed by the Christian pilgrims. If the prince of Antioch disclaimed his supremacy, the counts of Edessa and Tripoli owned themselves the vassals of the king of Jerusalem: the Latins reigned beyond the Euphrates; and the four cities of Hems, Hamah, Damascus, and Aleppo, were the only relics of the Mahometan conquests in Syria.

Success of
Alexius,
A. D. 1097.
—1118.

Whatever had been the fears and toils of Alexius* in the passage of the first crusade, they were amply recompensed by the subsequent benefits which he derived from the exploits of the Franks. His dexterity and vigilance secured their first conquest of Nice; and from this threatening station the Turks were compelled to evacuate the neighbourhood of Constantinople. While the crusaders, with blind valour, advanced into the midland countries of Asia, the crafty Greek improved the favourable occasion when the emirs of the sea-coast were recalled to the standard of the sultan. The Turks were driven from the isles of Rhodes and Chios; the cities of Ephesus and Smyrna, of Sardes, Philadelphia, and Laodicea, were restored to the empire, which Alexius enlarged from the Hellespont to the banks of the Mæander, and the rocky shores of Pamphylia. The churches resumed their splendour; the towns were rebuilt and fortified; and the desert country was peopled with colonies of Christians, who were gently removed from the more distant and dangerous frontier. In these cares Alexius forgot the deliverance of the holy se-

rarius (*De Acquisitione Terræ Sanctæ*, c. 89—98, p. 732—740). Some domestic facts are celebrated in the Chronicles of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice, in the 6th, 9th, and 12th tomes of Muratori.

* Anna Comnena relates her father's conquests in Asia Minor (*Alexiad*, l. xi. p. 321—325. l. xiv. p. 419); his Cilician war against Tancred and Bohemond (p. 328—342); the war of Epirus, with tedious prolixity (l. xii. xiii. p. 345—406); the death of Bohemond (l. xiv. p. 419).

pulchre; and by the Latins he was stigmatized with the foul reproach of treason and desertion. They had sworn fidelity and obedience to his throne; but he had promised to assist their enterprise in person, or, at least, with his troops and treasures: his base retreat dissolved their obligations; and the sword, which had been the instrument of their victory, was the pledge and title of their just independence. It does not appear that the emperor attempted to revive his obsolete claims over the kingdom of Jerusalem; but the borders of Cilicia and Syria were more recent in his possession, and more accessible to his arms. The great army of the crusaders was annihilated or dispersed; the principality of Antioch was left without a head, by the surprise and captivity of Bohemond: his ransom had oppressed him with a heavy debt; and his Norman followers were insufficient to repel the hostilities of the Greeks and Turks. In this distress Bohemond embraced a magnanimous resolution of leaving the defence of Antioch to his kinsman the faithful Tancred; of arming the West against the Byzantine empire; and of executing the design which he inherited from the lessons and example of his father Guiscard. His embarkation was clandestine; and if we may credit a tale of the princess Anne, he passed the hostile sea closely secreted in a coffin. But his reception in France was dignified by the public applause and his marriage with the king's daughter: his return was glorious, since the bravest spirits of the age inlisted under his veteran command; and he repassed the Adriatic at the head of five thousand horse and forty thousand foot, assembled from the most remote climates of Europe*. The strength of Durazzo and the prudence of Alexius, the progress of famine and approach of winter, eluded his ambi-

* *ἡ Ἀγγλία*, in the Byzantine geography, must mean England; yet we are more credibly informed, that our Henry I. would not suffer him to levy any troops in his kingdom (Ducange, Not. ad Alexiad, p. 41).

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tious hopes ; and the venal confederates were seduced from his standard. A treaty of peace* suspended the fears of the Greeks ; and they were finally delivered by the death of an adversary, whom neither oaths could bind or dangers could appal, nor prosperity could satiate. His children succeeded to the principality of Antioch ; but the boundaries were strictly defined, the homage was clearly stipulated, and the cities of Tarsus and Malmistra were restored to the Byzantine emperors. Of the coast of Anatolia they possessed the entire circuit from Trebizond to the Syrian gates. The Seljukian dynasty of Roum was separated † on all sides from the sea and their Musulman brethren ; the power of the sultans was shaken by the victories, and even the defeats, of the Franks ; and, after the loss of Nice, they removed their throne to Cogni or Iconium, an obscure and inland town, above three hundred miles from Constantinople. Instead of trembling for their capital, the Comnenian princes waged an offensive war against the Turks, and the first crusade prevented the fall of the declining empire ‡.

Death of
Alexius,
A. D. 1118.

Constantinople was fatigued by the length and severity of the reign of Alexius ; and, before he expired, he had lost the love and reverence of his subjects. The clergy could not forgive his application of the sacred riches to the defence of the state ; but they applauded his theological learning and ardent zeal for the orthodox faith, which he defended with his tongue, his pen, and his sword. In his last hours, when he was pressed by his wife Irene to alter the succession, he raised his head and breathed a pious ejaculation on the vanity of this world.

* The copy of the treaty (Alexiad, l. xiii. p. 406—416) is an original and curious piece, which would require, and might afford, a good map of the principality of Antioch.

† See the learned work of M. de Guignes (tom. ii. part 2).

‡ For the supplement to the first crusade, see Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. xi. p. 334, &c.) and the 8th book of Albert Aquensis.

It was the wish of Irene to supplant the eldest of her surviving sons, in favour of her daughter the princess Anne, whose philosophy would not have refused the weight of a diadem. But the order of male succession was asserted by the friends of their country: the lawful heir drew the royal signet from the finger of his insensible or conscious father, and the empire obeyed the master of the palace. Anna Comnena was stimulated by ambition and revenge to conspire against the life of her brother; and when the design was prevented by the fears or scruples of her husband, she passionately exclaimed, that nature had mistaken the two sexes, and had endowed Bryennius with the soul of a woman. The two sons of Alexius, John and Isaac, maintained the fraternal concord, the hereditary virtue of their race; and the younger brother was content with the title of Sebastocrator, which approached the dignity, without sharing the power, of the emperor. In the same person the claims of primogeniture and merit were fortunately united: his swarthy complexion, harsh features, and diminutive stature, had suggested the ironical surname of Calo Johannes, or John the Handsome, which his grateful subjects more seriously applied to the beauties of his mind. After the discovery of her treason, the life and fortune of Anne were justly forfeited to the laws. Her life was spared by the clemency of the emperor; but he visited the pomp and treasures of her palace, and bestowed the rich confiscation on the most deserving of his friends. That respectable friend Axuch, a slave of Turkish extraction, presumed to decline the gift, and to intercede for the criminal: his generous master applauded and imitated the virtue of his favourite; and the reproach or complaint of an injured brother was the only chastisement of the guilty princess. After this example of clemency the remainder of his reign was never disturbed by con-

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Johannes,
A.D. 1118,
August.

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spiracy or rebellion : feared by his nobles, beloved by his people, John was never reduced to the painful necessity of punishing, or even of pardoning, his personal enemies. During his government of twenty-five years the penalty of death was abolished in the Roman empire—a law of mercy most delightful to the humane theorist, but of which the practice, in a large and vicious community, is seldom consistent with the public safety. Severe to himself, indulgent to others, chaste, frugal, abstemious, the philosophic Marcus would not have disdained the artless virtues of his successor, derived from his heart, and not borrowed from the schools. He despised and moderated the stately magnificence of the Byzantine court, so oppressive to the people, so contemptible to the eye of reason. Under such a prince innocence had nothing to fear, and merit had every thing to hope ; and, without assuming the tyrannic office of a censor, he introduced a gradual though visible reformation in the public and private manners of Constantinople. The only defect of this accomplished character was the frailty of noble minds, the love of arms and military glory. Yet the frequent expeditions of John the Handsome may be justified, at least in their principle, by the necessity of repelling the Turks from the Hellespont and the Bosphorus. The sultan of Iconium was confined to his capital, the Barbarians were driven to the mountains, and the maritime provinces of Asia enjoyed the transient blessings of their deliverance. From Constantinople to Antioch and Aleppo he repeatedly marched at the head of a victorious army ; and, in the sieges and battles of this holy war, his Latin allies were astonished by the superior spirit and prowess of a Greek. As he began to indulge the ambitious hope of restoring the ancient limits of the empire, as he revolved in his mind the Euphrates and Tigris, the dominion of Syria, and

the conquest of Jerusalem, the thread of his life and of the public felicity was broken by a singular accident. He hunted the wild boar in the valley of Anazarbus, and had fixed his javelin in the body of the furious animal; but in the struggle a poisoned arrow dropped from his quiver, and a slight wound in his hand, which produced a mortification, was fatal to the best and greatest of the Comnenian princes.

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A premature death had swept away the two eldest sons of John the Handsome: of the two survivors, ^{Manuel,} A. D. 1143, April 8. Isaac and Manuel, his judgment or affection preferred the younger; and the choice of their dying prince was ratified by the soldiers, who had applauded the valour of his favourite in the Turkish war. The faithful Axuch hastened to the capital, secured the person of Isaac in honourable confinement, and purchased, with a gift of two hundred pounds of silver, the leading ecclesiastics of St. Sophia, who possessed a decisive voice in the consecration of an emperor. With his veteran and affectionate troops Manuel soon visited Constantinople: his brother acquiesced in the title of Sebastocrator; his subjects admired the lofty stature and martial graces of their new sovereign, and listened with credulity to the flattering promise, that he blended the wisdom of age with the activity and vigour of youth. By the experience of his government they were taught that he emulated the spirit and shared the talents of his father, whose social virtues were buried in the grave. A reign of thirty-seven years is filled by a perpetual though various warfare against the Turks, the Christians, and the hordes of the wilderness beyond the Danube. The arms of Manuel were exercised on mount Taurus, in the plains of Hungary, on the coast of Italy and Egypt, and on the seas of Sicily and Greece: the influence of his negotiations extended from Jerusalem to Rome and Russia; and the Byzantine mon-

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archy for a while became an object of respect or terror to the powers of Asia and Europe. Educated in the silk and purple of the East, Manuel possessed the iron temper of a soldier, which cannot easily be paralleled, except in the lives of Richard the First of England and of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden. Such was his strength and exercise in arms, that Raymond, surnamed the Hercules of Antioch, was incapable of wielding the lance and buckler of the Greek emperor. In a famous tournament he entered the lists on a fiery courser, and overturned in his first career two of the stoutest of the Italian knights. The first in the charge, the last in the retreat, his friends and his enemies alike trembled, the former for his safety, the latter for their own. After posting an ambuscade in a wood, he rode forwards in search of some perilous adventure, accompanied only by his brother and the faithful Axuch, who refused to desert their sovereign. Eighteen horsemen, after a short combat, fled before them; but the numbers of the enemy increased; the march of the reinforcement was tardy and fearful, and Manuel, without receiving a wound, cut his way through a squadron of five hundred Turks. In a battle against the Hungarians, impatient of the slowness of his troops, he snatched a standard from the head of the column, and was the first almost alone who passed a bridge that separated him from the enemy. In the same country, after transporting his army beyond the Save, he sent back the boats with an order, under pain of death, to their commander, that he should leave him to conquer or die on that hostile land. In the siege of Corfu, towing after him a captive galley, the emperor stood aloft on the poop, opposing, against the volleys of darts and stones, a large buckler and a flowing sail; nor could he have escaped inevitable death, had not the Sicilian admiral enjoined his archers to respect the person of

a hero. In one day he is said to have slain above forty of the Barbarians with his own hand ; he returned to the camp, dragging along four Turkish prisoners, whom he had tied to the rings of his saddle : he was ever the foremost to provoke or to accept a single combat ; and the gigantic champions who encountered his arm were transpierced by the lance, or cut asunder by the sword, of the invincible Manuel. The story of his exploits, which appear as a model or a copy of the romances of chivalry, may induce a reasonable suspicion of the veracity of the Greeks : I will not, to vindicate their credit, endanger my own ; yet I may observe, that, in the long series of their annals, Manuel is the only prince who has been the subject of similar exaggeration. With the valour of a soldier, he did not unite the skill or prudence of a general : his victories were not productive of any permanent or useful conquest ; and his Turkish laurels were blasted in his last unfortunate campaign, in which he lost his army in the mountains of Pisidia, and owed his deliverance to the generosity of the sultan. But the most singular feature in the character of Manuel is the contrast and vicissitude of labour and sloth, of hardiness and effeminacy. In war he seemed ignorant of peace, in peace he appeared incapable of war. In the field he slept in the sun or in the snow, tired in the longest marches the strength of his men and horses, and shared with a smile the abstinence or diet of the camp. No sooner did he return to Constantinople than he resigned himself to the arts and pleasures of a life of luxury : the expense of his dress, his table, and his palace, surpassed the measure of his predecessors ; and whole summer days were idly wasted in the delicious isles of the Propontis, in the incestuous love of his niece Theodora. The double cost of a warlike and dissolute prince exhausted the revenue

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and multiplied the taxes ; and Manuel, in the distress of his last Turkish camp, endured a bitter reproach from the mouth of a desperate soldier. As he quenched his thirst, he complained that the water of a fountain was mingled with Christian blood. " It is not the first time," exclaimed a voice from the crowd, " that you have drank, O emperor ! the blood of your Christian subjects." Manuel Comnenus was twice married, to the virtuous Bertha or Irene, of Germany, and to the beauteous Maria, a French or Latin princess of Antioch. The only daughter of his first wife was destined for Bela, a Hungarian prince, who was educated at Constantinople under the name of Alexius ; and the consummation of their nuptials might have transferred the Roman sceptre to a race of free and warlike Barbarians. But as soon as Maria of Antioch had given a son and heir to the empire, the presumptive rights of Bela were abolished, and he was deprived of his promised bride ; but the Hungarian prince resumed his name and the kingdom of his fathers, and displayed such virtues as might excite the regret and envy of the Greeks. The son of Maria was named Alexius ; and, at the age of ten years, he ascended the Byzantine throne, after his father's decease had closed the glories of the Comnenian line.

Roger the
Norman
invades
Greece,
A. D. 1146.

Since the decease of Robert Guiscard, the Normans had relinquished, above sixty years, their hostile designs against the empire of the East. The policy of Roger, king of Sicily, solicited a public and private union with the Greek princes, whose alliance would dignify his regal character : he demanded in marriage a daughter of the Comnenian family, and the first steps of the treaty seemed to promise a favourable event. But the contemptuous treatment of his ambassadors exasperated the vanity of the new monarch ; and the insolence of the Byzantine court was expiated by the

sufferings of a guiltless people*. With a fleet of seventy galleys, George the admiral of Sicily appeared before Corfu; and both the island and city were delivered into his hands by the disaffected inhabitants, who had yet to learn that a siege is still more calamitous than a tribute. In this invasion, of some moment in the annals of commerce, the Normans spread themselves by sea, and over the provinces of Greece; and the venerable age of Athens, Thebes, and Corinth was violated by rapine and cruelty. Of the wrongs of Athens no memorial remains. The ancient walls, which encompassed, without guarding, the opulence of Thebes, were scaled by the Latin Christians. On the approach of the Normans the lower town of Corinth was evacuated: the Greeks retired to the citadel, which was seated on a lofty eminence abundantly watered by the classic fountain of Pirene; an impregnable fortress, if the want of courage could be balanced by any advantages of art or nature. As soon as the besiegers had surmounted the labour (their sole labour) of climbing the hill, their general, from the commanding eminence, admired his own victory. The silk weavers of both sexes, whom George transported to Sicily, composed the most valuable part of the spoil, and in comparing the skilful industry of the mechanic with the sloth and cowardice of the soldier, he was heard to exclaim that the distaff and loom were the only weapons which the Greeks were capable of using. The progress of this naval armament was marked by two conspicuous events, the rescue of the king of France, and the insult of the Byzantine capital. In his return by sea, from an unfortunate crusade, Louis the

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His admiral
delivers
Louis VII.
of France.

* The silence of the Sicilian historians, who end too soon or begin too late, must be supplied by Otho of Frisingen, a German (*de Gestis Frederici I.* l. i. c. 33. in *Muratori Script.* tom. vii. p. 668), the Venetian Andrew Dandulus (*Id.* tom. xii. p. 282, 283), and the Greek writers, Cinnamus (l. iii. c. 2—5) and Nicetas (in *Manuel* l. iii. c. 1—6).

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Insults Con-
stantinople.

The empe-
ror Manuel
repulses the
Normans,
A.D. 1148
—1149.

seventh was intercepted by the Greeks, who basely violated the laws of honour and religion. The fortunate encounter of the Norman fleet delivered the royal captive ; and after a free and honourable entertainment in the court of Sicily, Louis continued his journey to Rome and Paris. In the absence of the emperor, Constantinople and the Hellespont were left without defence and without the suspicion of danger. The clergy and people, for the soldiers had followed the standard of Manuel, were astonished and dismayed at the hostile appearance of a line of galleys, which boldly cast anchor in the front of the Imperial city. The forces of the Sicilian admiral were inadequate to the siege or assault of an immense and populous metropolis : but George enjoyed the glory of humbling the Greek arrogance ; and of marking the path of conquest to the navies of the West. He landed some soldiers to rifle the fruits of the royal gardens, and pointed with silver, or more probably with fire, the arrows which he discharged against the palace of the Cæsars. This playful outrage of the pirates of Sicily, who had surprised an unguarded moment, Manuel affected to despise, while his martial spirit, and the forces of the empire, were awakened to revenge. The Archipelago and Ionian sea were covered with his squadrons and those of Venice ; but I know not by what favourable allowance of transports, victuallers, and pinnaces, our reason, or even our fancy, can be reconciled to the stupendous account of fifteen hundred vessels, which is proposed by a Byzantine historian. These operations were directed with prudence and energy : in his homeward voyage George lost nineteen of his galleys, which were separated and taken : after an obstinate defence, Corfu implored the clemency of her lawful sovereign ; nor could a ship, a soldier of the Norman prince be found, unless as a captive, within the limits of the Eastern empire. The

prosperity and the health of Roger were already in a declining state : while he listened in his palace of Palermo to the messengers of victory or defeat, the invincible Manuel, the foremost in every assault, was celebrated by the Greeks and Latins as the Alexander or Hercules of the age.

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A prince of such a temper could not be satisfied with having repelled the insolence of a Barbarian. It was the right and duty, it might be the interest and glory, of Manuel, to restore the ancient majesty of the empire, to recover the provinces of Italy and Sicily, and to chastise this pretended king, the grandson of a Norman vassal *. The natives of Calabria were still attached to the Greek language and worship, which had been inexorably proscribed by the Latin clergy : after the loss of her dukes, Apulia was chained as a servile appendage to the crown of Sicily : the founder of the monarchy had ruled by the sword ; and his death had abated the fear, without healing the discontent of his subjects : the feudal government was always pregnant with the seeds of rebellion ; and a nephew of Roger himself invited the enemies of his family and nation. The majesty of the purple, and a series of Hungarian and Turkish wars, prevented Manuel from embarking his person in the Italian expedition. To the brave and noble Palæologus, his lieutenant, the Greek monarch intrusted a fleet and army : the siege of Bari was his first exploit ; and in every operation, gold as well as steel was the instrument of victory. Salerno, and some places along the western coast, maintained their fidelity to the Norman king ; but he lost in two campaigns the greater part of his continental possessions ; and the modest emperor, disdaining all flattery and falsehood, was content with the reduction of

He reduces
Apulia and
Calabria,
A.D. 1155.

* For the invasion of Italy, which is almost overlooked by Nicetas, see the more polite history of Cinnamus (l. iv. c. 1—15. p. 78—101).

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His design
of acquiring
Italy and the
Western
empire,
A.D. 1155.
1174, &c.

three hundred cities or villages of Apulia and Calabria, whose names and titles were inscribed on the walls of the palace. The prejudices of the Latins were gratified by a genuine or fictitious donation under the seal of the German Cæsars; but the successor of Constantine soon renounced this ignominious pretence, claimed the indefeasible dominion of Italy, and professed his design of chasing the Barbarians beyond the Alps. By the artful speeches, liberal gifts, and unbounded promises, of their Eastern ally, the free cities were encouraged to persevere in their generous struggle against the despotism of Frederick Barbarossa: the walls of Milan were rebuilt by the contributions of Manuel; and he poured, says the historian, a river of gold into the bosom of Ancona, whose attachment to the Greeks was fortified by the jealous enmity of the Venetians. The situation and trade of Ancona rendered it an important garrison in the heart of Italy: it was twice besieged by the arms of Frederick; the Imperial forces were twice repulsed by the spirit of freedom: that spirit was animated by the ambassador of Constantinople; and the most intrepid patriots, the most faithful servants, were rewarded by the wealth and honours of the Byzantine court. The pride of Manuel disdained and rejected a Barbarian colleague; his ambition was excited by the hope of stripping the purple from the German usurpers, and of establishing in the West, as in the East, his lawful title of sole emperor of the Romans. With this view he solicited the alliance of the people and the bishop of Rome. Several of the nobles embraced the cause of the Greek monarch; the splendid nuptials of his niece with Odo Frangipani secured the support of that powerful family, and his royal standard or image was entertained with due reverence in the ancient metropolis. During the quarrel between Frederick and Alexander the third,

the pope twice received in the Vatican the ambassadors of Constantinople. They flattered his piety by the long promised union of the two churches, tempted the avarice of his venal court, and exhorted the Roman pontiff to seize the just provocation, the favourable moment, to humble the savage insolence of the Alemanni, and to acknowledge the true representative of Constantine and Augustus.

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But these Italian conquests, this universal reign, soon escaped from the hand of the Greek emperor. His first demands were eluded by the prudence of Alexander the third, who paused on this deep and momentous revolution ; nor could the pope be seduced by a personal dispute to renounce the perpetual inheritance of the Latin name. After his reunion with Frederick, he spoke a more peremptory language, confirmed the acts of his predecessors, excommunicated the adherents of Manuel, and pronounced the final separation of the churches, or at least the empires, of Constantinople and Rome. The free cities of Lombardy no longer remembered their foreign benefactor, and without preserving the friendship of Ancona, he soon incurred the enmity of Venice. By his own avarice, or the complaints of his subjects, the Greek emperor was provoked to arrest the persons and confiscate the effects of the Venetian merchants. This violation of the public faith exasperated a free and commercial people : one hundred galleys were launched and armed in as many days ; they swept the coasts of Dalmatia and Greece ; but after some mutual wounds, the war was terminated by an agreement, inglorious to the empire, insufficient for the republic ; and a complete vengeance of these and of fresh injuries was reserved for the succeeding generation. The lieutenant of Manuel had informed his sovereign that he was strong enough to

Failure of
his designs.

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Peace with
the Nor-
mans,
A.D. 1156.

Last war of
the Greeks
and Nor-
mans,
A.D. 1185.

quell any domestic revolt of Apulia and Calabria; but that his forces were inadequate to resist the impending attack of the king of Sicily. His prophecy was soon verified: the death of Palæologus devolved the command on several chiefs alike eminent in rank, alike defective in military talents; the Greeks were oppressed by land and sea; and a captive remnant that escaped the swords of the Normans and Saracens abjured all future hostility against the person or dominions of their conqueror. Yet the king of Sicily esteemed the courage and constancy of Manuel, who had landed a second army on the Italian shore: he respectfully addressed the new Justinian; solicited a peace or truce of thirty years accepted as a gift; the regal title; and acknowledged himself the military vassal of the Roman empire*. The Byzantine Cæsars acquiesced in this shadow of dominion, without expecting, perhaps without desiring, the service of a Norman army; and the truce of thirty years was not disturbed by any hostilities between Sicily and Constantinople. About the end of that period the throne of Manuel was usurped by an inhuman tyrant, who had deserved the abhorrence of his country and mankind: the sword of William the second, the grandson of Roger, was drawn by a fugitive of the Comnenian race; and the subjects of Andronicus might salute the strangers as friends, since they detested their sovereigns as the worst of enemies. The Latin historians† expatiate on the rapid progress of the four counts who invaded Romania with a fleet and army, and reduced many castles and cities to the obedience of

* For the epistle of William I. see Cinnamus (l. iv. c. 15. p. 101—102) and Nicetas (l. ii. c. 8). It is difficult to affirm, whether these Greeks deceived themselves or the public in these flattering portraits of the grandeur of the empire.

† I can only quote of original evidence the poor chronicles of Sicard of Cremona (p. 603) and of Fossa Nova (p. 875), as they are published in the viith tome of Muratori's historians.

the king of Sicily. The Greeks * accuse and magnify the wanton and sacrilegious cruelties that were perpetrated in the sack of Thessalonica, the second city of the empire. The former deplore the fate of those invincible but unsuspecting warriors who were destroyed by the arts of a vanquished foe. The latter applaud in songs of triumph the repeated victories of their countrymen on the sea of Marmora or Propontis, on the banks of the Strymon, and under the walls of Durazzo. A revolution which punished the crimes of Andronicus had united against the Franks the zeal and courage of the successful insurgents: ten thousand were slain in battle, and Isaac Angelus, the new emperor, might indulge his vanity or vengeance in the treatment of four thousand captives. Such was the event of the last contest between the Greeks and Normans: before the expiration of twenty years, the rival nations were lost or degraded in foreign servitude: and the successors of Constantine did not long survive to insult the fall of the Sicilian monarchy.

That monarchy was indeed of no long continuance. The sceptre of Roger descended to his son, who was generally styled William the Bad, and his grandson, who was as generally known by the name of William the Good. During the reign of that amiable prince Sicily enjoyed twenty-three years of peace, justice, and happiness. At his death the legitimate male line of Tancred of Hauteville became extinct; but Constantia, the aunt of the second William and daughter of Roger, had married Henry the sixth, the son of Frederic Barbarossa. That powerful monarch claimed the crown as the inheritance of his wife. The Sicilians resisted his claim, and placed

Extinction
of the Nor-
mans in
Sicily.

* By the failure of Cinnamus we are reduced to Nicetas (in Andronicus, l. 1. c. 7, 8, 9. l. ii. c. 1. in Isaac Angelo, l. 1. c. 1—4), who now becomes a respectable contemporary. As he survived the emperor, he is above flattery: but the fall of Constantinople exasperated his prejudices against the Latins. For the honour of learning I shall observe that Homer's great commentator, Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica, refused to desert his flock.

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the sceptre in the hands of Tancred the grandson of the first king, but whose birth was illegitimate. His civil and military virtues shone without a blemish ; and during four years he defended the monarchy against the power of Germany. But his short reign was then terminated by his death, and the kingdom of his widow and son fell without a struggle into the hands of Henry, by whom Sicily was oppressed ; and the young king, with his mother and sisters, were at first imprisoned, and afterwards deprived of life or of their eyes. Ten years after this revolution the French monarchs annexed the duchy of Normandy to their crown. The sceptre of her ancient dukes had been transmitted by a grand-daughter of William the Conqueror to the house of Plantagenet ; and the adventurous Normans who had raised so many trophies in France and England, in Apulia, Sicily, and the East, were lost either in victory or servitude among the vanquished nations.

I return from this digression to the history of the emperors of Constantinople. The fraternal concord of the two sons of the great Alexius had been sometimes clouded by oppositions of passion and interest. By ambition, Isaac the Sebastocrator was excited to flight and rebellion, from which he was reclaimed by the firmness and clemency of John the Handsome. The errors of Isaac, the father of the emperors of Trebizond, were short and venial ; but John, the elder of his sons, renounced for ever his religion, provoked by a real or imaginary insult of his uncle. He escaped from the Roman to the Turkish camp. His apostasy was rewarded with the sultan's daughter, the title of Chelebi or Noble, and the inheritance of a princely estate. In the fifteenth century, Mahomet the second boasted of his imperial descent from the Comnenian family. Andronicus, the younger brother of John, son of Isaac, and grandson of

Alexius Comnenus, is one of the most conspicuous characters of the age, and his genuine adventures might form the subject of a very singular romance. The want of the softer graces was supplied by a manly countenance, a lofty stature, and the air and deportment of a soldier. The preservation in his old age of health and vigour was the reward of temperance and exercise. A piece of bread and a draught of water were often his sole and evening repast ; and if he tasted of a wild boar, or a stag which he had roasted with his own hands, it was the well earned fruit of a laborious chase. Dexterous in arms he was ignorant of fear : his persuasive eloquence could bend to every situation and character of life ; and in every deed of mischief, he had a heart to resolve, a head to contrive, and a hand to execute. In his youth, after the death of the emperor John, he followed the retreat of the Roman army ; but in the march through Asia Minor, design or accident tempted him to wander in the mountains ; the hunter was encompassed by the Turkish huntsmen, and he remained some time a reluctant or willing captive in the power of the sultan. His virtues and vices recommended him to the favour of his cousin ; he shared the perils and the pleasures of Manuel ; and while the emperor lived in public incest with his niece Theodora, the affections of her sister Eudocia were seduced and enjoyed by Andronicus. Above the decencies of her sex and rank, she gloried in the name of his concubine. She accompanied him to his military command of Cilicia, the first scene of his valour and imprudence. He pressed with active ardour the siege of Mopsuestia : the day was employed in the boldest attacks ; but the night was wasted in song and dance ; and a band of Greek comedians formed the choicest part of his retinue. Andronicus was surprised by the sally of a vigilant foe : but while his troops fled in

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disorder, his invincible lance transpierced the thickest ranks of the Armenians. On his return to the Imperial camp in Macedonia, he was received by Manuel with public smiles and a private reproof; but the duchies of Naissus, Braniseba, and Castoria, were the reward or consolation of the unsuccessful general. Eudocia still attended his motions: at midnight their tent was suddenly attacked by her angry brothers, impatient to expiate her infamy in his blood: his daring spirit refused her advice and the disguise of a female habit: and boldly starting from his couch, he drew his sword, and cut his way through the numerous assassins. It was here that he first betrayed his ingratitude and treachery: he engaged in a treasonable correspondence with the king of Hungary and the German emperor; approached the royal tent at a suspicious hour with a drawn sword, and, under the mask of a Latin soldier, avowed an intention of revenge against a mortal foe; and imprudently praised the fleetness of his horse as an instrument of flight and safety. The monarch dissembled his suspicions; but, after the close of the campaign, Andronicus was arrested, and strictly confined in a tower of the palace of Constantinople.

In this prison he was left above twelve years; a most painful restraint, from which the thirst of action and pleasure perpetually urged him to escape. Alone and pensive, he perceived some broken bricks in a corner of the chamber, and he gradually widened the passage till he had explored a dark and forgotten recess. Into this hole he conveyed himself, and the remains of his provisions, replacing the bricks in their former position, and erasing with care the footsteps of his retreat. At the hour of the customary visit his guards were amazed by the silence and solitude of the prison, and reported with shame and fear his incomprehensible flight. The gates of the palace and city were

instantly shut : the strictest orders were despatched into the provinces, for the recovery of their fugitive ; and his wife, on the suspicion of a pious act, was basely imprisoned in the same tower. At the dead of night, she beheld a spectre : she recognized her husband : they shared their provisions ; and a son was the fruit of these stolen interviews, which alleviated the tediousness of their confinement. In the custody of a woman the vigilance of the keepers was insensibly relaxed ; and the captive had accomplished his real escape, when he was discovered, brought back to Constantinople, and loaded with a double chain. At length he found the moment and the means of his deliverance. A boy, his domestic servant, intoxicated the guards, and obtained in wax the impression of the keys. By the diligence of his friends, a similar key, with a bundle of ropes, was introduced into the prison, in the bottom of a hogshead. Andronicus employed with industry and courage the instruments of his safety ; unlocked the doors, descended from the tower, concealed himself among the bushes, and scaled in the night the garden wall of the palace. A boat was stationed for his reception : he visited his own house, embraced his children, cast away his chain, mounted a fleet horse, and directed his rapid course towards the banks of the Danube. At Anchialus in Thrace an intrepid friend supplied him with horses and money : he passed the river, traversed with speed the desert of Moldavia and the Carpathian hills, and had almost reached the town of Halicz, in the Polish Russia, when he was intercepted by a party of Walachians, who resolved to convey their important captive to Constantinople. His presence of mind again extricated him from this danger. Under the pretence of sickness, he dismounted in the night, and was allowed to step aside from the troop : he planted in the ground his long staff ; clothed it with his cap

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and upper garment ; and stealing into the wood, left a phantom to amuse, for some time, the eyes of the Walachians. From Halicz he was honourably conducted to Kiow, the residence of the great duke : the subtle Greek soon obtained the esteem and confidence of Ieroslaus : his character could assume the manners of every climate ; and the Barbarians applauded his strength and courage in the chase of the elks and bears of the forest. In this northern region he deserved the forgiveness of Manuel, who solicited the Russian prince to join his arms in the invasion of Hungary. The influence of Andronicus achieved this important service : his private treaty was signed with a promise of fidelity on one side, and of oblivion on the other ; and he marched at the head of the Russian cavalry from the Borysthenes to the Danube. In his resentment Manuel had ever sympathised with the martial and dissolute character of his cousin ; and his free pardon was sealed in the assault of Zemlin, in which he was second, and second only, to the valour of the emperor.

No sooner was the exile restored to freedom and his country, than his ambition revived, at first to his own, and at length to the public misfortune. A daughter of Manuel was a feeble bar to the succession of the more deserving males of the Comnenian blood : her future marriage with the prince of Hungary was repugnant to the hopes or prejudices of the princes and nobles. But when an oath of allegiance was required to the presumptive heir, Andronicus alone asserted the honour of the Roman name, declined the unlawful engagement, and boldly protested against the adoption of a stranger. His patriotism was offensive to the emperor, but he spoke the sentiments of the people, and was removed from the royal presence by an honourable banishment, a second command of the Sicilian frontier, with the

absolute disposal of the revenues of Cyprus. In this station, the Armenians again exercised his courage and exposed his negligence; and the same rebel, who baffled all his operations, was unhorsed and almost slain by the vigour of his lance. But Andronicus soon discovered a more easy and pleasing conquest, the beautiful Philippa, sister of the empress Maria and daughter of Raymond of Poitou, the Latin prince of Antioch. For her sake, he deserted his station, and wasted the summer in balls and tournaments: to his love she sacrificed her innocence, her reputation, and the offer of an advantageous marriage. But the resentment of Manuel for this domestic affront interrupted his pleasures. Andronicus left the indiscreet princess to weep and repent; and with a band of desperate adventurers undertook the pilgrimage of Jerusalem. His birth, his martial renown, and professions of zeal, announced him as the champion of the cross; he soon captivated both the clergy and the king; and the Greek prince was invested with the lordship of Berytus, on the coast of Phœnicia. In his neighbourhood resided a young and handsome queen of his own nation and family, great grand-daughter of the emperor Alexius, and widow of Baldwin the third king of Jerusalem. She visited and loved her kinsman. Theodora was the third victim of his amorous seduction; and her shame was more public and scandalous than that of her predecessors. The emperor still thirsted for revenge; and his subjects and allies of the Syrian frontier were repeatedly pressed to seize the person and put out the eyes of the fugitive. In Palestine he was no longer safe; but the tender Theodora revealed his danger and accompanied his flight. The queen of Jerusalem was exposed to the East, his obsequious concubine; and two illegitimate children were the living monuments of her weakness.

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Damascus was his first refuge ; and in the characters of the great Noureddin and his servant Saladin, the superstitious Greek might learn to revere the virtues of the Mussulmans. As the friend of Noureddin he visited, most probably, Bagdad and the coast of Persia ; and after a long circuit round the Caspian sea and the mountains of Georgia, he finally settled among the Turks of Asia Minor, the hereditary enemies of his country. The sultan of Colonia afforded an hospitable retreat to Andronicus, his mistress, and his band of outlaws : the debt of gratitude was paid by frequent inroads in the Roman province of Trebizond ; and he seldom returned without an ample harvest of spoil and of Christian captives. His vigilance had eluded or repelled the open and secret persecution of the emperor ; but he was at length ensnared by the captivity of his female companion. The governor of Trebizond succeeded in his attempt to surprise the person of Theodora : the queen of Jerusalem and her two children were sent to Constantinople, and their loss embittered the tedious solitude of banishment. The fugitive implored and obtained a final pardon, with leave to throw himself at the feet of his sovereign, who was satisfied with the submission of this haughty spirit. Prostrate on the ground he deplored with tears and groans the guilt of his past rebellion ; nor would he presume to arise unless some faithful subject would drag him to the foot of the throne, by an iron chain with which he had secretly encircled his neck. This extraordinary penance excited the wonder and pity of the assembly ; his sins were forgiven by the church and state ; but the just suspicion of Manuel fixed his residence at a distance from the court, at Oenoe, a town of Pontus, surrounded with rich vineyards, and situate on the coast of the Euxine. The death of Manuel and the disorders of the minority

soon opened the fairest field to his ambition. The emperor was a boy of twelve or fourteen years of age, without vigour, or wisdom, or experience ; his mother, the empress Mary, abandoned her person and government to a favourite of the Comnenian name ; and his sister, another Mary, whose husband, an Italian, was decorated with the title of Cæsar, excited a conspiracy, and at length an insurrection, against her odious step-mother. The provinces were forgotten, the capital was in flames, and a century of peace and order was overthrown in the vice and weakness of a few months. A civil war was kindled in Constantinople ; the two factions fought a bloody battle in the square of the palace, and the rebels sustained a regular siege in the cathedral of St. Sophia. The patriarch laboured with honest zeal to heal the wounds of the republic ; the most respectable patriots called aloud for a guardian and avenger ; and every tongue repeated the praise of the talents, and even the virtues, of Andronicus. In his retirement he affected to revolve the solemn duties of his oath : “ If the safety “ or honour of the Imperial family be threatened, I “ will reveal and oppose the mischief to the utmost “ of my power.” He patiently waited till he was called to her deliverance by the voice of his country. In his march from Oenoe to Constantinople his slender train insensibly swelled to a crowd and an army ; his professions of religion and loyalty were mistaken for the language of his heart ; and the simplicity of a foreign dress, which showed to advantage his majestic stature, displayed a lively image of his poverty and exile. All opposition sunk before him ; he reached the straits of the Thracian Bosphorus ; the Byzantine navy sailed from the harbour to receive and transport the saviour of the empire ; the torrent was loud and irresistible, and the insects who had basked in the sunshine of royal favour dis-

appeared at the blast of the storm. It was the first care of Andronicus to occupy the palace, to salute the emperor, to confine his mother, to punish her minister, and to restore the public order and tranquillity. He then visited the sepulchre of Manuel: the spectators were ordered to stand aloof, but as he bowed in the attitude of prayer, they heard, or thought they heard, a murmur of triumph and revenge. "I no longer fear thee, my old enemy, who hast driven me a vagabond to every climate of the earth. Thou art safely deposited under a seven-fold dome, from whence thou canst never arise till the signal of the last trumpet. It is now my turn, and speedily will I trample on thy ashes and thy posterity." From his subsequent tyranny we may impute such feelings to the man and the moment, but it is not extremely probable that he gave an articulate sound to his secret thoughts. In the first months of his administration, his designs were veiled by a fair semblance of hypocrisy, which could delude only the eyes of the multitude: the coronation of Alexius was performed with due solemnity, and his perfidious guardian most fervently declared, that he lived and was ready to die for the service of his beloved pupil. But his numerous adherents were instructed to maintain, that the sinking empire must perish in the hands of a child; that the Romans could only be saved by a veteran prince, bold in arms, skilful in policy, and taught to reign by the long experience of fortune and mankind; and that it was the duty of every citizen to force the reluctant modesty of Andronicus to undertake the burthen of the public care. The young emperor was himself constrained to join his voice to the general acclamation, and to solicit the association of a colleague, who instantly degraded him from the supreme rank, secluded his person, and verified the rash declaration

of the patriarch, that Alexius might be considered as dead, so soon as he was committed to the custody of his guardian. But his death was preceded by the imprisonment and execution of his mother. After blackening her reputation and inflaming against her the passions of the multitude, the tyrant accused and tried the empress for a treasonable correspondence with the king of Hungary. His own son, a youth of honour and humanity, avowed his abhorrence of this flagitious act, and three of the judges had the merit of preferring their conscience to their safety; but the obsequious tribunal, without requiring any proof, or hearing any defence, condemned the widow of Manuel; and her unfortunate son subscribed the sentence of her death. Maria was strangled, her corpse was buried in the sea, and her memory was wounded by the insult most offensive to female vanity, a false and ugly representation of her beautiful form. The fate of her son was not long deferred: he was strangled with a bow string, and the tyrant, insensible to pity or remorse, after surveying the body of the innocent youth, struck it rudely with his foot: "Thy father," he cried, "was a knave, thy mother a whore, and thyself a fool!"

The Roman sceptre, the reward of his crimes, was held by Andronicus about three years and a half, as the guardian or sovereign of the empire. His government exhibited a singular contrast of vice and virtue. When he listened to his passions, he was the scourge, when he consulted his reason, the father, of his people. In the exercise of private justice he was equitable and rigorous: a shameful and pernicious venality was abolished, and the offices were filled with the most deserving candidates by a prince who had sense to choose, and severity to punish. He prohibited the inhuman practice of pillaging the goods and persons of shipwrecked mariners: the provinces, so long the

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Andronicus
I. Comnenus,
A.D. 1183.
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objects of oppression or neglect, revived in prosperity and plenty ; and millions applauded the distant blessings of his reign, while he was cursed by the witnesses of his daily cruelties. The ancient proverb, That blood-thirsty is the man who returns from banishment to power, had been applied with too much truth to Marius and Tiberius, and was now verified for the third time in the life of Andronicus. His memory was stored with a black list of the enemies and rivals who had traduced his merit, opposed his greatness, or insulted his misfortunes ; and the only comfort of his exile was the sacred hope and promise of revenge. The necessary extinction of the young emperor and his mother imposed the fatal obligation of extirpating the friends who hated and might punish the assassin ; and the repetition of murder rendered him less willing and less able to forgive. A horrid narrative of the victims whom he had sacrificed by poison or the sword, by the sea or the flames, would be less expressive of his cruelty than the appellation of the Halcyon days, which was applied to a rare and bloodless week of repose : the tyrant strove to transfer on the laws and the judges some portion of his guilt ; but the mask was fallen, and his subjects could no longer mistake the true author of their calamities. The noblest of the Greeks, more especially those who, by descent or alliance, might dispute the Comnenian inheritance, escaped from the monster's den : Nice or Prusa, Sicily or Cyprus, were their places of refuge ; and as their flight was already criminal, they aggravated their offence by an open revolt and the Imperial title. Yet Andronicus resisted the daggers and swords of his most formidable enemies : Nice and Prusa were reduced and chastised ; the Sicilians were content with the sack of Thessalonica ; and the distance of Cyprus was not more propitious to the rebel than to the tyrant. His throne was subverted

by a rival without merit and a people without arms. Isaac Angelus, a descendant in the female line from the great Alexius, was marked as a victim by the prudence or superstition of the emperor. In a moment of despair Angelus defended his life and liberty, slew the executioner, and fled to the church of St. Sophia. The sanctuary was insensibly filled with a curious and mournful crowd, who, in his fate, prognosticated their own. But their lamentations were soon turned to curses, and their curses to threats: they dared to ask, "Why do we fear? why do we obey? we are many, and he is one; our patience is the only bond of our slavery." With the dawn of day the city burst into a general sedition: the prisons were thrown open, the coldest and most servile were roused to the defence of their country, and Isaac, the second of the name, was raised from the sanctuary to the throne. Unconscious of his danger, the tyrant was absent, withdrawn from the toils of state, in the delicious islands of the Propontis. He had contracted an indecent marriage with Alice or Agnes, daughter of Louis the Seventh of France, and relict of the unfortunate Alexius; and his society, more suitable to his temper than to his age, was composed of a wife and a concubine. On the first alarm he rushed to Constantinople, impatient for the blood of the guilty; but he was astonished by the silence of the palace, the tumult of the city, and the general desertion of mankind. Andronicus proclaimed a free pardon to his subjects; they neither desired nor would grant forgiveness: he offered to resign the crown to his son Manuel; but the virtues of the son could not expiate his father's crimes. The sea was still open for his retreat; but the news of the revolution had flown along the coast; when fear had ceased, obedience was no more: the Imperial galley was pur-

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sued and taken by an armed brigantine ; and the tyrant was dragged to the presence of Isaac Angelus, loaded with fetters, and a long chain round his neck. His eloquence, and the tears of his female companions, pleaded in vain for his life ; but, instead of the decencies of a legal execution, the new monarch abandoned the criminal to the numerous sufferers whom he had deprived of a father, a husband, or a friend. His teeth and hair, an eye and a hand, were torn from him, as a poor compensation for their loss ; and a short respite was allowed, that he might feel the bitterness of death. Astride on a camel, without any danger of a rescue, he was carried through the city, and the basest of the populace rejoiced to trample on the fallen majesty of their prince. After a thousand blows and outrages, Andronicus was hung by the feet, between two pillars that supported the statues of a wolf and a sow ; and every hand that could reach the public enemy inflicted on his body some mark of ingenious or brutal cruelty, till two friendly or furious Italians, plunging their swords into his body, released him from all human punishment. In this long and painful agony, “ Lord have mercy upon me ! ” and “ Why will you bruise a broken reed ? ” were the only words that escaped from his mouth.

Isaac II.
Angelus,
A. D. 1185,
Sept. 12.

I have been tempted to expatiate on the extraordinary character and adventures of Andronicus. The branches that sprang from the Comnenian trunk had insensibly withered ; and the male line was continued only in the posterity of Andronicus himself, who, in the public confusion, usurped the sovereignty of Trebizond, so obscure in history, and so famous in romance. A private citizen of Philadelphia, Constantine Angelus, had emerged to wealth and honours by his marriage with a daughter of the emperor Alexius. His son Andronicus is conspicuous only by his cow-

ardice. His grandson Isaac punished and succeeded the tyrant; but he was dethroned by his own vices and the ambition of his brother; and their discord introduced the Latins to the conquest of Constantinople, the first great period in the fall of the Eastern empire.

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A. D. 1204.
April 12.

If we compute the number and duration of the reigns from Heraclius to Isaac Angelus, it will be found that a period of six hundred years is filled by sixty emperors, including in the Augustan list some female sovereigns; and, deducting some usurpers who were never acknowledged in the capital, and some princes who did not live to possess their inheritance, the average proportion will allow ten years for each emperor—far below the chronological rule of Sir Isaac Newton, who, from the experience of more recent and regular monarchies, has defined about eighteen or twenty years as the term of an ordinary reign. The Byzantine empire was most tranquil and prosperous when it could acquiesce in hereditary succession: five dynasties, the Heraclian, Isaurian, Amorian, Basilian, and Comnenian families, enjoyed and transmitted the royal patrimony during their respective series of five, four, three, six, and four generations: several princes number the years of their reign with those of their infancy; and Constantine the Seventh and his two grandsons occupy the space of an entire century. But, in the intervals of the Byzantine dynasties, the succession is rapid and broken, and the name of a successful candidate is speedily erased by a more fortunate competitor. Many were the paths that led to the summit of royalty: the fabric of rebellion was overthrown by the stroke of conspiracy, or undermined by the silent arts of intrigue; the favourites of the soldiers or people, of the senate or clergy, of the women and eunuchs, were alternately

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clothed with the purple : the means of their elevation were base, and their end was often contemptible or tragic. A being of the nature of man, endowed with the same faculties, but with a longer measure of existence, would cast down a smile of pity and contempt on the crimes and follies of human ambition, so eager in a narrow span to grasp at a precarious and short-lived enjoyment. It is thus that the experience of history exalts and enlarges the horizon of our intellectual view. In a composition of some days, in a perusal of some hours, six hundred years have rolled away, and the duration of a life or reign is contracted to a fleeting moment : the grave is ever beside the throne ; the success of a criminal is almost instantly followed by the loss of his prize ; and our immortal reason survives and disdains the sixty phantoms of kings, who have passed before our eyes and faintly dwell on our remembrance. The observation, that, in every age and climate, ambition has prevailed with the same commanding energy, may abate the surprise of a philosopher ; but, while he condemns the vanity, he may search the motive, of this universal desire to obtain and hold the sceptre of dominion. To the greater part of the Byzantine series we cannot reasonably ascribe the love of fame and of mankind. The virtue alone of John Comnenus was beneficent and pure : the most illustrious of the princes who precede or follow that respectable name have trod with some dexterity and vigour the crooked and bloody paths of a selfish policy. In scrutinizing the imperfect characters of Leo the Isaurian, Basil the First, and Alexius Comnenus, of Theophilus, the second Basil, and Manuel Comnenus, our esteem and censure are almost equally balanced ; and the remainder of the Imperial crowd could only desire and expect to be forgotten by posterity. Was per-

sonal happiness the aim and object of their ambition? I shall not descant on the vulgar topics of the misery of kings; but I may surely observe, that their condition, of all others, is the most pregnant with fear, and the least susceptible of hope. For these opposite passions a larger scope was allowed in the revolutions of antiquity than in the smooth and solid temper of the modern world, who cannot easily repeat either the triumph of Alexander or the fall of Darius. But the peculiar infelicity of the Byzantine princes exposed them to domestic perils, without affording any lively promise of foreign conquest. From the pinnacle of greatness Andronicus was precipitated by a death more cruel and shameful than that of the vilest malefactor; but the most glorious of his predecessors had much more to dread from their subjects than from their enemies. The army was licentious without spirit, the nation turbulent without freedom: the Barbarians of the East and West pressed on the monarchy, and the loss of the provinces was terminated by the final servitude of the capital.

The entire series of Roman emperors, from the first of the Cæsars to the last of the Constantines, extends above fifteen hundred years; and the term of dominion unbroken by foreign conquest surpasses the measure of the ancient monarchies; the Assyrians or Medes, the successors of Cyrus or those of Alexander.

Before I proceed with the history of Isaac Angelus and his family, which led to the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, it may be proper to employ a few pages with a brief view of the principal events which took place in Egypt and Syria, from the conquest of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bouillon to the capture of the holy city by the sultan Saladin, and the final termination of the crusades.

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XLIV.Noureddin
conquers
Egypt,
A. D. 1171.

The caliphs of the Fatimite race continued to reign in Egypt till the year 1171, when an end was put to that dynasty by Noureddin, who had already distinguished himself by adding the kingdom of Damascus to that of Aleppo, and by a long and successful war against the Christians in Syria. His father Zenghi had recovered Edessa from the Franks, and had deprived them of their conquests on the left bank of the Euphrates*. Noureddin extended his dominion from the Tigris to the Nile, and changed the green colours of the descendants of Ali to the black standards of the Abassides. After his death the celebrated Saladin obtained the sovereignty of Egypt, and, by his victorious arms, established his power from the African Tripoli to the Tigris, and from the Indian Ocean to the mountains of Armenia†. The kingdom of Jerusalem was naturally an object of his ambition. That kingdom had subsisted during eighty-eight years, from Godfrey, its great conqueror, whose reign was too soon terminated by his death‡. He was succeeded by the two first Baldwins, his brother and cousin. After the death of the second of those princes the sceptre devolved to his daughter Melisinda, and her husband Fulk count of Anjou, the father, by a former marriage, of our English Plantagenets. Their two sons, Baldwin the Third, and Amaury, waged a strenuous and not unsuccessful war against the Infidels; but the son of Amaury, Baldwin the Fourth, was deprived by leprosy of the faculties both of body

* William of Tyre describes the loss of Edessa and the death of Zenghi.

† We are indebted to the professor Schultens (Lugd. Bat. 1755, in folio), for the richest and most authentic materials, a life of Saladin, by his friend and minister the cadhi Bohadin, and copious extracts from the history of his kinsman, the prince Abulfeda of Hamah. To these we may add the article of Salaheddin, in the *Bibliothèque Orientale*, and all that may be gleaned from the dynasties of Abulpharagius.

‡ For the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, see William of Tyre, from the 9th to the 22d book; Jacob a Vitriaco; *Hist. Hierosolem.* l. i.; and Sanutus *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, l. iii. p. 6, 7, 8, 9.

and mind. His sister Sybilla, the mother of Baldwin the Fifth, was his heiress. After the death of her child she crowned her second husband Guy of Lusignan, a prince of handsome person, but of base renown. Raymond, count of Tripoli, a powerful vassal, who had been excluded from the succession and the regency, entertained an implacable hatred against the king, and exposed his honour and conscience to the temptation of the sultan. Such were the guardians of the holy city—a leper, a woman, a coward, and a traitor. Yet its fall was delayed, during twelve years, by some supplies from Europe, by the valour of the military orders, and by the distant or domestic avocations of their great enemy. At length, in the year 1187, Saladin invaded the Holy Land, and, at the suggestion of Raymond, laid siege to Tiberias. By the same perfidious advice the Christians were betrayed into a camp destitute of water. Raymond abandoned them on the first onset, and Lusignan was defeated and taken prisoner, with the loss of thirty thousand men. The kingdom was left without a head. Of the grand masters of the military orders, one was slain, the other was a prisoner. The garrisons of the cities, both on the coast and in the inland country, had been drawn away for the fatal field of Tiberias; and, in three months after the battle, Saladin appeared in arms before the gates of Jerusalem. Queen Sybilla trembled for herself and her captive husband; and, after a short siege, the city was surrendered by a capitulation with the sultan*.

Saladin takes
Jerusalem,
A. D. 1187.

The expulsion of the Franks from the rest of Syria would probably have followed in a short time, if Europe had not still continued to be actuated by the

* For the conquest of Jerusalem, Bohadin and Abulfeda are our Moslem witnesses. Of the Christian, Bernard Thesaurarius is the most copious and authentic. See likewise Matthew Paris.

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spirit and enthusiasm of the first crusade. That enthusiasm was perhaps, in the first instance, a natural and simple event, while hope was fresh, danger untried, and enterprise congenial to the spirit of the times. But the obstinate perseverance of Europe may indeed excite our pity and astonishment; that no instruction should have been drawn from constant and adverse experience; that the same confidence should have repeatedly grown from the same failures; that six succeeding generations should have rushed headlong down the precipice that was open before them; and that men of every condition should have staked their public and private fortunes on a desperate adventure, two thousand miles from their country. In a period of two centuries after the council of Clermont, each spring and summer produced a new emigration of pilgrim warriors for the defence of the Holy Land; but the seven great armaments or crusades were excited by some impending or recent calamity.

Second
crusade,
A. D. 1147.

Of these seven crusades, the first has been already described; the second was excited by the distress of the Christians, forty-seven years after the taking of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bouillon. In this expedition the Latins were headed by Conrad the Third, emperor of Germany, and by Louis the Seventh, king of France. The cavalry of the emperor, and that of the king, was each composed of seventy thousand knights, and their immediate attendants*; and the full account of their armament will scarcely be satisfied with four hundred thousand souls. The West, from Rome to Britain, was called into action. The kings of Poland and Bohemia obeyed the summons of Conrad; and it is affirmed, that, after the passage of

* William of Tyre, and Matthew Paris, reckon seventy thousand Loricati in each of the armies.

a strait or river, the Byzantine agents, after a tale of nine hundred thousand, desisted from the endless and formidable computation *. The event of this mighty armament was disastrous to Christendom. The Turks having been driven from Nice to Iconium by the arms of the first crusaders, were no longer an object of terror to the Greeks; and Constantinople was more afraid of the Latins than of her former enemies. Every obstacle which could be opposed to the success of the crusaders was employed by the emperor Manuel. By the want of provisions, by epidemic diseases, by incessant attacks of the Turkish horse, and by desertion, the great army of Conrad was almost destroyed; and, after some glorious but unsuccessful actions on the banks of the Mæander, he returned through Lesser Asia with the small remains of his forces, and, borrowing some Greek vessels, proceeded by sea to execute the pilgrimage of Jerusalem. The French king had scarcely crossed the Bosphorus, when he met the returning emperor. Without profiting by the knowledge of what had happened to Conrad, he advanced through the same country to a similar fate, and, after experiencing similar disasters, he sheltered himself in the friendly port of Satalia, from whence he and his knights embarked for Antioch, leaving crowds of plebeian infantry to perish in Pamphylia. The emperor and king embraced and wept at Jerusalem, and a fruitless siege of Damascus was the final effort of the second crusade †.

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* The imperfect enumeration is mentioned by Cinnamus (ἐννεμήκοντα μυριάδες), and confirmed by Odo de Diogilo apud Ducange ad Cinnamum. with the more precise sum of 900,556. Why must, therefore, the version and comment suppose the modest and insufficient reckoning of 90,000? Does not Godfrey of Viterbo (Pantæon, p. 19, in Muratori, tom. vii. p. 462) exclaim,

— Numerum si poscere quæras,
Millia millena milites agmen erat?

† For the second crusade of Conrad III. and Louis VII. see William of Tyre, Otho of Frisingen, Matthew Paris, Struvius, Scriptores Rerum Francicarum a Duchesne, Nicetas, Cinnamus.

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Third
crusade,
A. D. 1189.
Frederic
Barbarossa.

After the loss of Jerusalem the third crusade* was undertaken, by the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, Philip Augustus king of France, and Richard Cœur de Lion of England. The first of these princes, with great courage and perseverance, forced his way through Asia Minor to Iconium, and stormed the capital of the sultan. Frederic advanced in a career of triumph, till he was unfortunately drowned in a petty torrent of Cilicia. After his death the German army was consumed by sickness and desertion; and the son of the emperor, with the small remains of his forces, expired at the siege of Acre.

The victorious course of Saladin was first checked by the resistance of Tyre†. The arrival of Conrad of Montferrat inspired the garrison with confidence, and Saladin concluded a glorious campaign by a disgraceful retreat to Damascus. In the following year the siege of Ptolemais or Acre was formed by the Christians, and was continued during two years. The whole force of the Moslems was summoned to its relief by the sultan, and nine battles were fought near mount Carmel with various success. At length, in the spring of the second year, the royal fleets of France and England arrived in the bay of Acre; and after every resource had been tried, and every hope extinguished, by the exertions of Richard, the city was surrendered. A strong town, with a convenient harbour, was thus acquired; but the minister and historian of Saladin asserts that it cost the lives of more than a hundred thousand of the Christians‡.

Philip
Augustus.

Richard I.
Acre taken,
A. D. 1191.

* For the third crusade, of Frederic Barbarossa, see Nicetas in Isaac Angel and two historians, who probably were spectators, Tagino, and the Anonymus de Expeditione Asiatica Fred. I.

† The sieges of Tyre and Acre are most copiously described by Bernard Thesaurarius (de Acquisitione Terræ Sanctæ), the author of the Historia Hierosolymitana, Abulfeda, and Bohadin.

‡ Bohadin, p. 14. Among the Christians who died before St. John d'Acre, I find the English names of de Ferrers, earl of Derby (Dugdale Baronage), Mowbray, de Mandevill, de Fiennes, St. John, Scrope, Figot, Talbot, &c.

After the surrender of Acre Philip returned to France ; and Richard, whose tremendous name was mentioned, sixty years afterwards, by mothers to silence their infants *, proceeded, at the head of the crusaders, for the recovery of the sea-coast. Cæsarea and Jaffa were taken, a march of a hundred miles from Acre to Ascalon † was a continual battle, but Saladin found his enemy to be irresistible, and it was only by destroying the walls of Ascalon that he could prevent Richard from occupying an important fortress on the frontiers of Egypt. The armies slept during a severe winter ; but it is probable that in the spring Richard would have taken Jerusalem, from whence he was at no great distance, if he had not been impatient to return to England, to punish a perfidious rival, who had invaded Normandy during his absence. After he went back to Acre, being informed that Jaffa was surprised by the sultan, he sailed with some merchant vessels, leaped foremost on the beach, relieved the castle by his presence, and sixty thousand Turks and Saracens fled before his arms. The discovery of the weakness of his forces induced them to return in the morning, and they found him carelessly encamped before the gates, with only seventeen knights and three hundred archers. Without counting their numbers, he sustained their charge ; and we learn, from the evidence of his enemies, that the king of England, grasping his lance, rode furiously along their front, from the right to the left wing, without meeting an adversary who dared to encounter his career. Am I writing the history of Orlando or Amadis ?

* Joinville, p. 17. Cuides-tu que ce soit le roi Richard ?

† The expeditions to Ascalon, Jerusalem, and Jaffa, are related by Bohadin and Abulfeda. The author of the Itinerary, or the Monk of St. Albans, cannot exaggerate the cadhi's account of the prowess of Richard (Vinisauf), and on the whole of this war there is a marvellous agreement between the Christian and Mahometan writers, who mutually praise the virtues of their enemies.

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XLIV.Treaty
between
Richard and
Saladin,
1192.

The war between Richard and Saladin was terminated by a treaty, of which the principal conditions were the free and open pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the holy sepulchre, without tribute or vexation ; that, after the demolition of Ascalon, the Christians should inclusively possess the sea-coast from Jaffa to Tyre ; that the count of Tripoli, and the prince of Antioch, should be comprised in the truce ; and that all hostilities should cease during three years and three months*.

Death of
Saladin,
1193.

Richard departed for Europe, to experience a long captivity, and meet a premature grave ; and the space of a few months concluded the life and glories of Saladin. The unity of empire was dissolved by his death. His sons were oppressed by their uncle Saphadin, and the hostile interests of the sultans of Egypt, Damascus, and Aleppo, were again renewed. Acre became the capital of the Franks or Latins ; and they stood, and breathed, and hoped, in their fortresses along the coast of Syria, till they were finally expelled from the Holy Land, a hundred years after the surrender of Acre to Richard, and near two centuries after the conquest of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bouillon.

Fourth cru-
sade against
Constantinople.

The fourth and fifth crusades were undertaken at the voice of Pope Innocent the Third ; but, except the king of Hungary, the princes of the second order were at the head of the pilgrims. The fourth crusade was diverted from Syria to Constantinople, and the conquest of the Greek empire by the Latins will form the important subject of the next chapter.

Fifth cru-
sade, 1218.

In the fifth crusade† two hundred thousand Franks

* The most copious and original account of this holy war is Galfridia Vinisaufr *Itinerarium Regis Anglorum Richardi et aliorum in Terram Hierosolymorum*, in six books, published in the second volume of Gale's *Scriptores Hist. Anglicanæ*. Roger Hoveden and Matthew Paris afford likewise many valuable materials, and the former describes with accuracy the discipline and navigation of the English fleet.

† See the fifth crusade, and the siege of Damietta, in Jacobus a Vitriaco, an eye-

were landed at the eastern mouth of the Nile. After a siege of sixteen months, Damietta was taken ; but the army of the Christians was wasted by sickness, desertions, and the inundations of the Nile. The remainder of the Franks were glad to obtain a safe retreat by the restoration of Damietta, and some concessions for other pilgrims who might afterwards be desirous of visiting Jerusalem.

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The two last crusades were conducted by Louis the Ninth, king of France, who is better known by the title of St. Louis. Convinced that to effect a permanent establishment in Palestine, it was necessary to begin with the conquest of Egypt, the last crusades were directed to that country. For this object Louis covered the sea of Cyprus with eighteen hundred sail, and disembarked an army, which, by the most moderate computation, amounted to fifty thousand, and by Oriental vanity has been swelled to nine thousand five hundred horse, and a hundred and thirty thousand foot*. Damietta was abandoned by the Moslems ; but the same causes which ruined the fifth crusade were, on the same ground, productive of similar calamities to the sixth. The utmost exertions of the courage of the French, under the eye of their intrepid monarch, were not able to overcome pestilential diseases and the overflowings of the Nile. After taking Damietta, Louis advanced into the interior, and approached the capital ; but the count of Artois, the king's brother, who led the van-

Sixth
crusade,
St. Louis,
1248--1254.

witness, Bernard Thesaurarius, a contemporary, and Sanutus, a diligent compiler ; and of the Arabians, Abulpharagius, and the extracts at the end of Joinville.

* Joinville, p. 32 ; Arabic Extracts, p. 549. I have two editions of the noble and gallant Joinville, who shared the friendship and captivity of St. Louis. The first of these editions (Paris, 1688) most valuable for the observations of Ducange ; the other (Paris, au Louvre, 1761) most precious for the pure and authentic text, a MS. of which has been recently discovered. The last editor proves, that the history of St. Louis was finished A. D. 1309, without explaining, or even admiring, the age of the author, which must have exceeded ninety years (Preface, p. xi. ; Observations de Ducange, p. 17).

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guard, was overpowered and slain. The Nile was commanded by the Egyptian galleys, the open country by the Arabs. All provisions were intercepted; each day aggravated the sickness and distress. A retreat was found to be impracticable; and Louis, who would not desert his subjects, was made a prisoner, with the greatest part of his nobles. All who could not redeem their lives were inhumanly massacred. By the surrender of Damietta, and the payment of four hundred thousand pieces of gold, the king was at length permitted to depart; and, after waiting four years within the walls of Acre, he returned to France, without being able to visit Jerusalem.

Seventh
crusade,
1270.

After an interval of sixteen years, Louis was induced to undertake the seventh and last crusade. He embarked with six thousand horse and thirty thousand foot; but was tempted, by the hope of baptizing the king of Tunis, to steer for the coast of Africa. Instead of a proselyte, he found a siege. The French panted and died on the burning sands. St. Louis expired in his tent, and his son immediately gave the signal of retreat.

Prince Ed-
ward, 1271.

Besides the seven great armaments of which I have spoken, almost every year was marked by the emigration of warlike pilgrims from the west of Europe. Among these, the emperor Frederic the Second, and the English prince Edward, deserve to be noticed. The former was more successful than most of the preceding crusaders, and he obtained many privileges and advantages for the Latin Christians*. Our first Edward assumed the cross in the lifetime of his father. His design was to unite his forces with those of St. Louis in the seventh crusade; but the French mon-

* The original materials for the crusade of Frederic II. may be drawn from Richard de St. Germano (in Muratori Script. Rerum Ital.), and Matthew Paris. The most rational moderns are Fleury, Vertot, Giannone, and Muratori.

arch expired before the arrival of the British prince on the coast of Africa. Edward, though deprived of his ally, proceeded to Palestine. He landed at Acre with one thousand of his brave followers; and, animating the garrison by his courage, compelled the Moslems to abandon the siege of the city, which they had already undertaken. Emulating the fame of his great uncle Richard, he obtained many advantages over the enemy, and advanced as far as Nazareth. Notwithstanding a dangerous wound which he received from the dagger of an assassin *, he extorted, by his successful valour, a truce for ten years in favour of the Christians. His departure for Europe was hastened by the declining health of his father (1272); and this was the last attempt deserving of notice that was made by the princes of the West in favour of the Christians in Palestine. The situation of those Christians in a few years became very precarious. After the taking of Antioch by Bondocdar or Badars, sultan of Egypt and Syria, the maritime towns of Laodicea, Gabala, Tripoli, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre, and Jaffa, successively fell, and the existence of the Franks was confined to the city of St. John of Acre. That city continued to be the metropolis of the Latin Christians during the exact period of a century, from 1191, when it was taken by Richard, to the year 1291, when it was besieged by the sultan Khalil, at the head of an army of sixty thousand horse and one hundred and twenty thousand foot. The royal historian Abulfeda was a spectator of the siege. The defence was obstinate; but, at the end of thirty-three days, the city was carried by storm. Death or

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Acre taken,
and the
Franks expelled from
Syria, 1291.

* See Carte's History of England, vol. ii. p. 165—175, and his original authors, Thomas Wilkes and Walter Hemingford (L. iii. c. 34, 35), in Gale's Collection (tom. ii. p. 97, 589—592). They are both ignorant of the princess Eleanor's piety in sucking the poisoned wound, and saving her husband at the risk of her own life.

CHAP. slavery was the lot of sixty thousand Christians. The
XLIV. king of Jerusalem and the patriarch escaped from the
port to the island of Cyprus, and a final end was put
to the dominion of the Franks in Palestine, one hundred and ninety-two years after the conquest of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bouillon *.

* See the final expulsion of the Franks, in Sanutus, Abulfeda, Macrizi, &c. in de Guignes and Vertot.

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State of Constantinople.—Revolt of the Bulgarians.—Isaac Angelus dethroned by his Brother Alexius.—Origin of the fourth Crusade.—Alliance of the French and Venetians with the Son of Isaac. Their naval Expedition to Constantinople.—The two Sieges and final Conquest of the City by the Latins.

THE aversion of the Greeks and Latins was
nourished and manifested in the three first expedi-
tions to the Holy Land. Alexius Comnenus con-
trived the absence at least of the formidable pilgrims :
his successors, Manuel and Isaac Angelus, conspired
with the Moslems for the ruin of the greatest princes
of the Franks; and their crooked and malignant
policy was seconded by the active and voluntary obe-
dience of every order of their subjects. Of this
hostile temper, a large portion may doubtless be as-
cribed to the difference of language, dress, and man-
ners, which severs and alienates the nations of the
globe. The pride as well as the prudence of the
sovereign was deeply wounded by the intrusion of
foreign armies, that claimed a right of traversing his
dominions, and passing under the walls of his capital ;
his subjects were insulted and plundered by the rude
strangers of the West, and the hatred of the pusillani-
mous Greeks was sharpened by secret envy of the bold
enterprises of the Franks. The passage of the mighty
armies of Europe were rare and perilous events ;
but the crusades introduced a frequent and familiar
intercourse between the two nations, which enlarged
their knowledge without abating their prejudices.

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Enmity of
the Greeks
and Latins,
A. D. 1100
—1200.

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The Latins
at Constantinople:

The wealth and luxury of Constantinople demanded the productions of every climate : these imports were balanced by the art and labour of her numerous inhabitants ; her situation invites the commerce of the world ; and, in every period of her existence, that commerce has been in the hands of foreigners. After the decline of Amalphi, the Venetians, Pisans, and Genoese introduced their factories and settlements into the capital of the empire : their services were rewarded with honours and immunities ; they acquired the possession of lands and houses ; their families were multiplied by marriages with the natives ; and after the toleration of a Mahometan mosque, it was impossible to interdict the churches of the Roman rite. The two wives of Manuel Comnenus were of the race of the Franks ; the first, a sister-in-law of the emperor Conrad ; the second, a daughter of the prince of Antioch : he obtained for his son Alexius a daughter of Philip Augustus king of France ; and he bestowed his own daughter on a marquis of Montserrat, who was educated and dignified in the palace of Constantinople. The Greek encountered the arms, and aspired to the empire of the West ; he esteemed the valour, and trusted the fidelity of the Franks ; their military talents were unfitly recompensed by the lucrative offices of judges and treasureurs ; the policy of Manuel had solicited the alliance of the pope ; and the popular voice accused him of a partial bias to the nation and religion of the Latins. During his reign, and that of his successor Alexius, they were exposed at Constantinople to the reproach of foreigners, heretics, and favourites ; and this triple guilt was severely expiated in the tumult, which announced the return and elevation of Andronicus. The people rose in arms ; from the Asiatic shore the tyrant despatched his troops and galleys to assist the national revenge ; and the hopeless re-

their massacre,

A. D. 1183.

sistance of the strangers served only to justify the rage and sharpen the daggers of the assassins. Neither age, nor sex, nor the ties of friendship or kindred, could save the victims of national hatred, and avarice; the Latins were slaughtered in their houses and in the streets; their quarter was reduced to ashes, the clergy were burnt in their churches, and the sick in their hospitals; and some estimate may be formed of the slain from the clemency which sold above four thousand Christians in perpetual slavery to the Turks. The more diligent of the strangers had retreated on the first alarm to their vessels, and escaped through the Hellespont from the scene of blood. In their flight they burnt and ravaged two hundred miles of the sea-coast; inflicted a severe revenge on the guiltless subjects of the empire; and compensated by the accumulation of plunder the loss of their property and friends. On their return, they exposed to Italy and Europe the wealth and weakness, the perfidy and malice, of the Greeks, whose vices were painted as the genuine characters of heresy and schism. The scruples of the first crusaders had neglected the fairest opportunities of securing, by the possession of Constantinople, the way to the Holy Land: a domestic revolution invited, and almost compelled, the French and Venetians to achieve the conquest of the Roman empire of the East.

In the series of the Byzantine princes, I have exhibited the hypocrisy and ambition, the tyranny and fall, of Andronicus, the last male of the Comnenian family who reigned at Constantinople. The revolution, which cast him headlong from the throne, saved and exalted Isaac Angelus*, who descended by the females from the same Imperial dynasty. The

Reign and
character
of Isaac
Angelus,
A. D. 1185
—1195,
Sept. 12.

* The history of the reign of Isaac Angelus is composed, in three books, by the senator Nicetas (p. 228—290); and his offices of logothete, or principal secretary, and judge of the veil or palace, could not bribe the impartiality of the historian. He wrote, it is true, after the fall and death of his benefactor.

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successor of a second Nero might have found it an easy task to deserve the esteem and affection of his subjects; they sometimes had reason to regret the administration of Andronicus. The sound and vigorous mind of the tyrant was capable of discerning the connexion between his own and the public interest: and while he was feared by all who could inspire him with fear, the unsuspected people, and the remote provinces, might bless the inexorable justice of their master. But his successor was vain and jealous of the supreme power, which he wanted courage and abilities to exercise; his vices were pernicious, his virtues (if he possessed any virtues) were useless to mankind; and the Greeks, who imputed their calamities to his negligence, denied him the merit of any transient or accidental benefits of the times. Isaac slept on the throne, and was awakened only by the sound of pleasure: his vacant hours were amused by comedians and buffoons, and even to these buffoons the emperor was an object of contempt; his feasts and buildings exceeded the examples of royal luxury; the number of his eunuchs and domestics amounted to twenty thousand; and a daily sum of four thousand pounds of silver would swell to four millions sterling the annual expense of his household and table. His poverty was relieved by oppression; and the public discontent was inflamed by equal abuses in the collection, and the application, of the revenue. While the Greeks numbered the days of their servitude, a flattering prophet, whom he rewarded with the dignity of patriarch, assured him of a long and victorious reign of thirty-two years; during which he should extend his sway to Mount Libanus, and his conquests beyond the Euphrates. But his only step towards the accomplishment of the prediction was a splendid and scandalous embassy to Saladin, to demand the restitution of the holy

sepulchre, and to propose an offensive and defensive league with the enemy of the Christian name. In these unworthy hands, of Isaac and his brother, the remains of the Greek empire crumbled into dust. The island of Cyprus, whose name excites the ideas of elegance and pleasure, was usurped by his namesake, a Comnenian prince: and by a strange concatenation of events, the sword of our English Richard bestowed that kingdom on the house of Lusignan, a rich compensation for the loss of Jerusalem.

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The honour of the monarchy, and the safety of the capital, were deeply wounded by the revolt of the Bulgarians and Walachians. Since the victory of the second Basil, they had supported, above a hundred and seventy years, the loose dominion of the Byzantine princes; but no effectual measures had been adopted to impose the yoke of laws and manners on these savage tribes. By the command of Isaac, their sole means of subsistence, their flocks and herds, were driven away, to contribute towards the pomp of the royal nuptials; and their fierce warriors were exasperated by the denial of equal rank and pay in the military service. Peter and Asan, two powerful chiefs, of the race of the ancient kings*, asserted their own rights and the national freedom; and the conflagration spread from the banks of the Danube to the hills of Macedonia and Thrace. After some faint efforts, Isaac Angelus and his brother acquiesced in their independence; and the Imperial troops were soon discouraged by the bones of their fellow-soldiers, that were scattered along the passes of mount Hæmus. By the arms and policy of John, or Joannices, the second kingdom of Bulgaria was firmly established. The subtle Barbarian sent an

Revolt of
the Bulgarians,
A. D. 1186.

* Ducange, *Familie Dalmaticæ*, p. 318, 319, 320. The original correspondence of the Bulgarian king and the Roman pontiff is inscribed in the *Gesta Innocent. III.* c. 66—82, p. 513. 525.

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embassy to Innocent the third, to acknowledge himself a genuine son of Rome in descent and religion ; and humbly received from the pope the license of coining money, the royal title, and a Latin archbishop or patriarch. The Vatican exulted in the spiritual conquest of Bulgaria, the first object of the schism ; and if the Greeks could have preserved the prerogatives of the church, they would gladly have resigned the rights of the monarchy.

Usurpation
and character
of Alex-
ius Angelus,
A. D. 1195
—1203,
April 8.

The Bulgarians were malicious enough to pray for the long life of Isaac Angelus, the surest pledge of their freedom and prosperity. Yet their chiefs could involve in the same indiscriminate contempt the family and nation of the emperor. “ In all the “ Greeks,” said Asan to his troops, “ the same climate, “ and character, and education, will be productive “ of the same fruits. Behold my lance,” continued the warrior, “ and the long streamers that float in the “ wind. They differ only in colour ; they are formed “ of the same silk, and fashioned by the same work- “ man ; nor has the stripe that is stained in purple “ any superior price or value above its fellows.” Several of these candidates for the purple successively rose and fell under the empire of Isaac : a general who had repelled the fleets of Sicily was driven to revolt and ruin by the ingratitude of the prince ; and his luxurious repose was disturbed by secret conspiracies and popular insurrections. The emperor was saved by accident, or the merit of his servants : he was at length oppressed by an ambitious brother, who, for the hope of a precarious diadem, forgot the obligations of nature, of loyalty, and of friendship. While Isaac in the Thracian valleys pursued the idle and solitary pleasures of the chase, his brother, Alexius Angelus, was invested with the purple, by the unanimous suffrage of the camp : the capital and the clergy subscribed to their choice ; and the vanity

of the new sovereign rejected the name of his fathers for the lofty and royal appellation of the Comnenian race. On the despicable character of Isaac I have exhausted the language of contempt ; and can only add, that in a reign of eight years, the baser Alexius was supported by the masculine vices of his wife Euphrosyne. The first intelligence of his fall was conveyed to the late emperor by the hostile aspect and pursuit of the guards, no longer his own ; he fled before them above fifty miles as far as Stagyra in Macedonia ; but the fugitive, without an object or a follower, was arrested, brought back to Constantinople, deprived of his eyes, and confined in a lonesome tower, on a scanty allowance of bread and water. At the moment of the revolution, his son Alexius, whom he educated in the hope of empire, was twelve years of age. He was spared by the usurper, and reduced to attend his triumph both in peace and war ; but as the army was encamped on the sea-shore, an Italian vessel facilitated the escape of the royal youth ; and, in the disguise of a common sailor, he eluded the search of his enemies, passed the Hellespont, and found a secure refuge in the isle of Sicily. After saluting the threshold of the apostles, and imploring the protection of pope Innocent the third, Alexius accepted the kind invitation of his sister Irene, the wife of Philip of Swabia, king of the Romans. But in his passage through Italy, he heard that the flower of Western chivalry was assembled at Venice for the deliverance of the Holy Land : and a ray of hope was kindled in his bosom, that their invincible swords might be employed in his father's restoration.

About ten or twelve years after the loss of Jerusalem, the nobles of France were again summoned to the holy war by the voice of a third prophet, less extravagant, perhaps, than Peter the hermit, but far

The fourth
crusade,
A. D. 1198.

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below St. Bernard in the merit of an orator and a statesman. An illiterate priest of the neighbourhood of Paris, Fulk of Neuilly, forsook his parochial duty, to assume the more flattering character of a popular and itinerant missionary. No sooner did Innocent the third ascend the chair of St. Peter than he proclaimed in Italy, Germany, and France, the obligation of a new crusade *. The eloquent pontiff described the ruin of Jerusalem, the triumph of the Pagans, and the shame of Christendom: his liberality proposed a plenary indulgence to all who should serve in Palestine, either a year in person, or two years by a substitute; and among his legates and orators, who blew the sacred trumpet, Fulk of Neuilly was the loudest and most successful. The situation of the principal monarchs was averse to the pious summons. The emperor Frederic the second was a child; and his kingdom of Germany was disputed by the rival houses of Brunswick and Swabia, the memorable factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines. Philip Augustus of France had performed, and could not be persuaded to renew, the perilous vow; but as he was not less ambitious of praise than of power, he cheerfully instituted a perpetual fund for the defence of the Holy Land. Richard of England was satiated with the glory and misfortunes of his first adventure, and he presumed to deride the exhortations of Fulk of Neuilly. But the preacher was heard and obeyed by the great vassals, the princes of the second order; and Theobald, or Thibaut, count of Champagne, was the foremost in the race. This valiant youth, at the age of twenty-two years, was encouraged by the domestic

* The contemporary life of Pope Innocent III. published by Baluze and Muratori (*Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, tom. iii. pars i. p. 486—568), is most valuable for the important and original documents which are inserted in the text. The bull of the crusade may be read, c. 84, 85.

examples of his father, who marched in the second crusade, and of his elder brother, who had ended his days in Palestine with the title of king of Jerusalem : two thousand two hundred knights owed service and homage to his peerage : the nobles of Champagne excelled in all the exercises of war ; and, by his marriage with the heiress of Navarre, Thibaut could draw a band of hardy Gascons from either side of the Pyrenæan mountains. His companion in arms was Louis, count of Blois and Chartres ; like himself of regal lineage, for both the princes were nephews, at the same time, of the kings of France and England. In a crowd of prelates and barons, who imitated their zeal, I distinguish the birth and merit of Matthew of Montmorency ; the famous Simon of Montfort, the scourge of the Albigeois ; and a valiant noble, Jeffrey of Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne, who has condescended, in the rude idiom of his age and country, to write or dictate an original narrative of the councils and actions in which he bore a memorable part. At the same time, Baldwin count of Flanders, who had married the sister of Thibaut, assumed the cross at Bruges, with his brother Henry, and the principal knights and citizens of that rich and industrious province. The vow which the chiefs had pronounced in churches, they ratified in tournaments : the operations of the war were debated in full and frequent assemblies ; and it was resolved to seek the deliverance of Palestine in Egypt, a country, since Saladin's death, which was almost ruined by famine and civil war. But the fate of so many royal armies displayed the toils and perils of a land expedition ; and, if the Flemings dwelt along the ocean, the French barons were destitute of ships and ignorant of navigation. They embraced the wise resolution of choosing six deputies or representatives, of whom Villehardouin was one, with a discretionary

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Embraced
by the ba-
rons of
France.

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trust to direct the motions, and to pledge the faith, of the whole confederacy. The maritime states of Italy were alone possessed of the means of transporting the holy warriors with their arms and horses ; and the six deputies proceeded to Venice, to solicit, on motives of piety or interest, the aid of that powerful republic.

State of the
Venetians,
A. D. 697
—1200.

In the invasion of Italy by Attila, I have mentioned the flight of the Venetians from the fallen cities of the continent, and their obscure shelter in the chain of islands that line the extremity of the Adriatic gulf. In the midst of the waters, free, indigent, laborious, and inaccessible, they gradually coalesced into a republic : the first foundations of Venice were laid in the island of Rialto ; and the annual election of the twelve tribunes was superseded by the permanent office of a duke or doge. On the verge of the two empires, the Venetians exult in the belief of primitive and perpetual independence. Against the Latins, their antique freedom has been asserted by the sword, and may be justified by the pen. Charlemagne himself resigned all claim of sovereignty to the islands of the Adriatic gulf ; his son Pepin was repulsed in the attacks of the *lagunas* or canals, too deep for the cavalry, and too shallow for the vessels ; and in every age, under the German Cæsars, the lands of the republic have been clearly distinguished from the kingdom of Italy. But the inhabitants of Venice were considered by themselves, by strangers, and by their sovereigns, as an inalienable portion of the Greek empire ; in the ninth and tenth centuries, the proofs of their subjection are numerous and unquestionable ; and the vain titles, the servile honours, of the Byzantine court, so ambitiously solicited by their dukes, would have degraded the magistrates of a free people. But the bands of this dependence, which was never absolute or rigid, were

imperceptibly relaxed by the ambition of Venice and the weakness of Constantinople. Obedience was softened into respect, privilege ripened into prerogative, and the freedom of domestic government was fortified by the independence of foreign dominion. The maritime cities of Istria and Dalmatia bowed to the sovereigns of the Adriatic ; and when they armed against the Normans in the cause of Alexius, the emperor applied, not to the duty of his subjects, but to the gratitude and generosity of his faithful allies. The sea was their patrimony* : the western parts of the Mediterranean, from Tuscany to Gibraltar, were indeed abandoned to their rivals of Pisa and Genoa ; but the Venetians acquired an early and lucrative share of the commerce of Greece and Egypt. Their riches increased with the increasing demand of Europe : their manufactures of silk and glass, perhaps the institution of their bank, are of high antiquity ; and they enjoyed the fruits of their industry in the magnificence of public and private life. To assert her flag, to avenge her injuries, to protect the freedom of navigation, the republic could launch and man a fleet of a hundred galleys ; and the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Normans, were encountered by her naval arms. The Franks of Syria were assisted by the Venetians in the reduction of the sea-coast ; but their zeal was neither blind nor disinterested ; and in the conquest of Tyre, they shared the sovereignty of a city, the first seat of the commerce of the world. The policy of Venice was marked by the avarice of a trading, and the insolence of a maritime, power ; yet her ambition was prudent ; nor did she often forget that if armed galleys were the effect and safeguard, merchant vessels were the cause and supply, of her greatness. In her religion she avoided the schism of the Greeks, with-

* See the 25th and 30th Dissertations of the *Antiquitates Medii Ævi* of Muratori.

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out yielding a servile obedience to the Roman pontiff; and a free intercourse with the infidels of every clime appears to have allayed betimes the fever of superstition. Her primitive government was a loose mixture of democracy and monarchy: the doge was elected by the votes of the general assembly; as long as he was popular and successful, he reigned with the pomp and authority of a prince; but in the frequent revolutions of the state, he was deposed, or banished, or slain, by the justice or injustice of the multitude. The twelfth century produced the first rudiments of the wise and jealous aristocracy, which has reduced the doge to a pageant, and the people to a cipher.

Alliance of
the French
and Vene-
tians.

When the six ambassadors of the French pilgrims arrived at Venice, they were hospitably entertained in the palace of St. Mark, by the reigning duke: his name was Henry Dandolo*; and he shone in the last period of human life as one of the most illustrious characters of the times. Under the weight of years, and after the loss of his eyes, Dandolo retained a sound understanding and a manly courage; the spirit of a hero, ambitious to signalize his reign by some memorable exploits; and the wisdom of a patriot, anxious to build his fame on the glory and advantage of his country. He praised the bold enthusiasm and liberal confidence of the barons and their deputies; in such a cause, and with such associates, he should aspire, were he a private man, to terminate his life; but he was the servant of the republic, and some delay was requisite to consult, on this arduous business, the judgment of his colleagues. The proposal of the French was first debated by the six *sages* who had been recently appointed to control the administration of the doge: it was next disclosed

* Henry Dandolo was eighty-four at his election (A. D. 1192), and ninety-seven at his death (A. D. 1205). See the Observations of Ducange sur Villehardouin, No. 204.

to the forty members of the council of state ; and finally communicated to the legislative assembly of four hundred and fifty representatives, who were annually chosen in the six quarters of the city. In peace and war, the doge was still the chief of the republic ; his legal authority was supported by the personal reputation of Dandolo ; his arguments of public interest were balanced and approved ; and he was authorized to inform the ambassadors of the following conditions of the treaty *. It was proposed that the crusaders should assemble at Venice, on the feast of St. John of the ensuing year : that flat-bottomed vessels should be prepared for four thousand five hundred horses, and nine thousand squires, with a number of ships sufficient for the embarkation of four thousand five hundred knights, and twenty thousand foot : that during a term of nine months they should be supplied with provisions, and transported to whatever coast the service of God and Christendom should require ; and that the republic should join the armament with a squadron of fifty galleys. It was required, that the pilgrims should pay, before their departure, a sum of eighty-five thousand marks of silver ; and that all conquests, by sea and land, should be equally divided between the confederates. The terms were hard ; but the emergency was pressing, and the French barons were not less profuse of money than of blood. A general assembly was convened to ratify the treaty ; the stately chapel and place of St. Mark were filled with ten thousand citizens ; and the noble deputies were taught a new lesson, of humbling themselves before the majesty of the people. “ Illustrious Venetians,” said the marshal of Champagne, “ we are sent by the greatest “ and most powerful barons of France, to implore

* See the original treaty in the Chronicle of Andrew Dandolo, p. 323—326.

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“ the aid of the masters of the sea, for the deliverance
 “ of Jerusalem. They have enjoined us to fall pro-
 “ strate at your feet ; nor will we rise from the
 “ ground, till you have promised to avenge with us
 “ the injuries of Christ.” The eloquence of their
 words and tears, their martial aspect, and suppliant
 attitude, were applauded by an universal shout ; as
 it were, says Jeffrey, by the sound of an earthquake.
 The venerable doge ascended the pulpit to urge their
 request by those motives of honour and virtue, which
 alone can be offered to a popular assembly ; the
 treaty was transcribed on parchment, attested with
 oaths and seals, mutually accepted by the weeping
 and joyful representatives of France and Venice ;
 and despatched to Rome for the approbation of pope
 Innocent the third. Two thousand marks were bor-
 rowed of the merchants for the first expenses of the
 armament. Of the six deputies, two repassed the
 Alps to announce their success, while their four com-
 panions made a fruitless trial of the zeal and emula-
 tion of the republics of Genoa and Pisa.

Assembly
 and depar-
 ture of the
 crusade
 from Ve-
 nice, A. D.
 1202,
 Oct. 8.

The execution of the treaty was still opposed by
 unforeseen difficulties and delays. The marshal, on
 his return to Troyes, was embraced and approved by
 Thibaut count of Champagne, who had been unani-
 mously chosen general of the confederates. But the
 health of that valiant youth already declined, and
 soon became hopeless ; and he deplored the untimely
 fate, which condemned him to expire, not in a field
 of battle, but on a bed of sickness. To his brave
 and numerous vassals, the dying prince distributed
 his treasures : they swore in his presence to accom-
 plish his vow and their own ; but some there were,
 says the marshal, who accepted his gifts and forfeited
 their word. The more resolute champions of the
 cross held a parliament at Soissons for the election
 of a new general, but such was the incapacity, or

jealousy, or reluctance, of the princes of France, that none could be found both able and willing to assume the conduct of the enterprise. They acquiesced in the choice of a stranger, of Boniface marquis of Montferrat, descended of a race of heroes, and himself of conspicuous fame in the wars and negotiations of the times ; nor could the piety or ambition of the Italian chief decline this honourable invitation. After visiting the French court, where he was received as a friend and kinsman, the marquis, in the church of Soissons, was invested with the cross of a pilgrim and the staff of a general ; and immediately repassed the Alps, to prepare for the distant expedition of the East. About the festival of the Pentecost he displayed his banner, and marched towards Venice at the head of the Italians : he was preceded or followed by the counts of Flanders and Blois, and the most respectable barons of France ; and their numbers were swelled by the pilgrims of Germany, whose object and motives were similar to their own. The Venetians had fulfilled, and even surpassed, their engagements : stables were constructed for the horses, and barracks for the troops ; the magazines were abundantly replenished with forage and provisions ; and the fleet of transports, ships and galleys, was ready to hoist sail, as soon as the republic had received the price of the freight and armament. But that price far exceeded the wealth of the crusaders who were assembled at Venice. The Flemings, whose obedience to their count was voluntary and precarious, had embarked in their vessels for the long navigation of the ocean and Mediterranean ; and many of the French and Italians had preferred a cheaper and more convenient passage from Marseilles and Apulia to the Holy Land. Each pilgrim might complain, that after he had furnished his own contribution, he was made responsible for the deficiency of his absent

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Zara,
Nov. 10.

brethren: the gold and silver plate of the chiefs, which they freely delivered to the treasury of St. Mark, was a generous but inadequate sacrifice; and after all their efforts, thirty-four thousand marks were still wanting to complete the stipulated sum. The obstacle was removed by the policy and patriotism of the doge, who proposed to the barons, that if they would join their arms in reducing some revolted cities of Dalmatia, he would expose his person in the holy war, and obtain from the republic a long indulgence, till some wealthy conquest should afford the means of satisfying the debt. After much scruple and hesitation, they chose rather to accept the offer than to relinquish the enterprise; and the first hostilities of the fleet and army were directed against Zara, a strong city of the Sclavonian coast, which had renounced its allegiance to Venice, and implored the protection of the king of Hungary*. The crusaders burst the chain or boom of the harbour; landed their horses, troops, and military engines; and compelled the inhabitants, after a defence of five days, to surrender at discretion: their lives were spared, but the revolt was punished by the pillage of their houses and the demolition of their walls. The season was far advanced; the French and Venetians resolved to pass the winter in a secure harbour and plentiful country; but their repose was disturbed by national and tumultuous quarrels of the soldiers and mariners. The conquest of Zara had scattered the seeds of discord and scandal: the arms of the allies had been stained in their outset with the blood, not of infidels, but of Christians: the king of Hungary and his new subjects were themselves enlisted under the banner of the cross; and the scruples of the devout were magnified by the fear or lassitude

* Katona (*Hist. Critica Reg. Hungariæ, Stirpis Arpad. tom. iv. p. 536—558*) collects all the facts and testimonies most adverse to the conquerors of Zara.

of the reluctant pilgrims. The pope had excommunicated the false crusaders who had pillaged and massacred their brethren, and only the marquis Boniface and Simon of Montfort escaped these spiritual thunders; the one by his absence from the siege, the other by his final departure from the camp. Innocent might absolve the simple and submissive penitents of France; but he was provoked by the stubborn reason of the Venetians, who refused to confess their guilt, to accept their pardon, or to allow, in their temporal concerns, the interposition of a priest.

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The assembly of such formidable powers by sea and land had revived the hopes of young Alexius; and, both at Venice and Zara, he solicited the arms of the crusaders, for his own restoration and his father's deliverance. The royal youth was recommended by Philip king of Germany: his prayers and presence excited the compassion of the camp; and his cause was embraced and pleaded by the marquis of Montferrat and the doge of Venice. A double alliance, and the dignity of Cæsar, had connected with the Imperial family the two elder brothers of Boniface: he expected to derive a kingdom from the important service; and the more generous ambition of Dandolo was eager to secure the inestimable benefits of trade and dominion that might accrue to his country. Their influence procured a favourable audience for the ambassadors of Alexius; and if the magnitude of his offers excited some suspicion, the motives and rewards which he displayed might justify the delay and diversion of those forces which had been consecrated to the deliverance of Jerusalem. He promised, in his own and his father's name, that as soon as they should be seated on the throne of Constantinople, they would terminate the long schism of the Greeks, and submit themselves and their

Alliance of
the crusaders with
the Greek
prince, the
young
Alexius.

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people to the lawful supremacy of the Romish church. He engaged to recompense the labours and merits of the crusaders, by the immediate payment of two hundred thousand marks of silver ; to accompany them in person to Egypt ; or, if it should be judged more advantageous, to maintain, during a year, ten thousand men, and, during his life, five hundred knights, for the service of the Holy Land. These tempting conditions were accepted by the republic of Venice ; and the eloquence of the doge and marquis persuaded the counts of Flanders, Blois, and St. Pol, with eight barons of France, to join in the glorious enterprise. A treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was confirmed by their oaths and seals ; and each individual, according to his situation and character, was swayed by the hope of public or private advantage ; by the honour of restoring an exiled monarch ; or by the sincere and probable opinion, that their efforts in Palestine would be fruitless and unavailing, and that the acquisition of Constantinople must precede and prepare the recovery of Jerusalem. But they were the chiefs or equals of a valiant band of freemen and volunteers, who thought and acted for themselves : the soldiers and clergy were divided ; and, if a large majority subscribed to the alliance, the numbers and arguments of the dissidents were strong and respectable *. The boldest hearts were appalled by the report of the naval power and impregnable strength of Constantinople ; and their apprehensions were disguised to the world, and perhaps to themselves, by the more decent objections of religion and duty. They alleged the sanctity of a vow, which had drawn them from their families and homes to the rescue of the holy sepulchre ; nor should the dark and crooked councils of human

* Villebardouin and Gunther represent the sentiments of the two parties.

policy divert them from a pursuit, the event of which was in the hands of the Almighty. Their first offence, the attack of Zara, had been severely punished by the reproach of their conscience and the censures of the pope; nor would they again imbrue their hands in the blood of their fellow-christians. The apostle of Rome had pronounced; nor would they usurp the right of avenging with the sword the schism of the Greeks and the doubtful usurpation of the Byzantine monarch. On these principles or pretences, many pilgrims, the most distinguished for their valour and piety, withdrew from the camp; and their retreat was less pernicious than the open or secret opposition of a discontented party, that laboured, on every occasion, to separate the army and disappoint the enterprise.

Notwithstanding this defection, the departure of the fleet and army was vigorously pressed by the Venetians, whose zeal for the service of the royal youth concealed a just resentment to his nation and family. They were mortified by the recent preference which had been given to Pisa, the rival of their trade; they had a long arrear of debt and injury to liquidate with the Byzantine court; and Dandolo might not discourage the popular tale, that he had been deprived of his eyes by the emperor Manuel, who perfidiously violated the sanctity of an ambassador. A similar armament, for ages, had not rode the Adriatic; it was composed of one hundred and twenty flat-bottomed vessels, or *palanders*, for the horses; two hundred and forty transports filled with men and arms; seventy storeships laden with provisions; and fifty stout galleys, well prepared for the encounter of an enemy. While the wind was favourable, the sky serene, and the water smooth, every eye was fixed with wonder and delight on the scene of military and naval pomp which overspread the sea.

Voyage
from Zara
to Constan-
tinople,
A. D. 1203,
April 7 —
June 24.

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The shields of the knights and squires, at once an ornament and a defence, were arranged on either side of the ships; the banners of the nations and families were displayed from the stern; our modern artillery was supplied by three hundred engines for casting stones and darts: the fatigues of the way were cheered with the sound of music; and the spirits of the adventurers were raised by the mutual assurance, that forty thousand christian heroes were equal to the conquest of the world. In the navigation from Venice and Zara, the fleet was successfully steered by the skill and experience of the Venetian pilots; at Durazzo, the confederates first landed on the territories of the Greek empire: the isle of Corfu afforded a station and repose; they doubled without accident the perilous cape of Malea, the southern point of Peloponnesus, or the Morea; made a descent in the islands of Negropont and Andros; and cast anchor at Abydus, on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont. These preludes of conquest were easy and bloodless; the Greeks of the provinces, without patriotism or courage, were crushed by an irresistible force; the presence of the lawful heir might justify their obedience; and it was rewarded by the modesty and discipline of the Latins. As they penetrated through the Hellespont, the magnitude of their navy was compressed in a narrow channel; and the face of the waters was darkened with innumerable sails. They again expanded in the basin of the Propontis, and traversed that placid sea, till they approached the European shore, at the abbey of St. Stephen, three leagues to the west of Constantinople. The prudent doge dissuaded them from dispersing themselves in a populous and hostile land; and, as their stock of provisions was reduced, it was resolved, in the season of harvest, to replenish their storeships in the fertile islands of the Propontis. With this resolution, they

directed their course ; but a strong gale, and their own impatience, drove them to the eastward ; and so near did they run to the shore and the city, that some volleys of stones and darts were exchanged between the ships and the rampart. As they passed along, they gazed with admiration on the capital of the East, or, as it should seem, of the earth ; rising from her seven hills, and towering over the continents of Europe and Asia. The swelling domes and lofty spires of five hundred palaces and churches were gilded by the sun and reflected in the waters ; the walls were crowded with soldiers and spectators, whose numbers they beheld, of whose temper they were ignorant ; and each heart was chilled by the reflection, that, since the beginning of the world, such an enterprise had never been undertaken by such a handful of warriors. But the momentary apprehension was dispelled by hope and valour ; and every man, says the marshal of Champagne, glanced his eye on the sword or lance which he must speedily use in the glorious conflict. The Latins cast anchor before Chalcedon ; the mariners only were left in the vessels ; the soldiers, horses, and arms, were safely landed ; and, in the luxury of an Imperial palace, the barons tasted the first fruits of their success. On the third day, the fleet and army moved towards Scutari, the Asiatic suburb of Constantinople ; a detachment of five hundred Greek horse was surprised and defeated by fourscore French knights ; and, in a halt of nine days, the camp was plentifully supplied with forage and provisions.

In relating the invasion of a great empire, it may seem strange that I have not described the obstacles which should have checked the progress of the strangers. The Greeks, in truth, were an unwarlike people ; but they were rich, industrious, and subject to the will of a single man : had that man been

Fruitless
negotiation
of the em-
peror.

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capable of fear, when his enemies were at a distance, or of courage, when they approached his person. The first rumour of his nephew's alliance with the French and Venetians was despised by the usurper Alexius; his flatterers persuaded him, that in his contempt he was bold and sincere; and each evening, in the close of the banquet, he thrice discomfited the Barbarians of the West. These Barbarians had been justly terrified by the report of his naval power; and the sixteen hundred fishing-boats of Constantinople could have manned a fleet, to sink them in the Adriatic, or stop their entrance in the mouth of the Hellespont. But all force may be annihilated by the negligence of the prince and the venality of his ministers. The great duke, or admiral, made a scandalous, almost a public, auction of the sails, the masts, and the rigging; the royal forests were reserved for the more important purpose of the chase; and the trees, says Nicetas, were guarded by the eunuchs, like the groves of religious worship. From his dream of pride, Alexius was awakened by the siege of Zara and the rapid advances of the Latins. As soon as he saw the danger was real, he thought it inevitable, and his vain presumption was lost in abject despondency and despair. He suffered these contemptible Barbarians to pitch their camp in the sight of the palace; and his apprehensions were thinly disguised by the pomp and menace of a suppliant embassy. The sovereign of the Romans was astonished (his ambassadors were instructed to say) at the hostile appearance of the strangers. If these pilgrims were sincere in their vow for the deliverance of Jerusalem, his voice must applaud, and his treasures should assist, their pious design; but should they dare to invade the sanctuary of empire, their numbers, were they ten times more considerable, should not protect them from his just resentment.

The answer of the doge and barons was simple and magnanimous. "In the cause of honour and justice," they said, "we despise the usurper of Greece, his threats, and his offers. *Our* friendship and *his* allegiance are due to the lawful heir, to the young prince who is seated among us, and to his father, the emperor Isaac, who has been deprived of his sceptre, his freedom, and his eyes, by the crime of an ungrateful brother. Let that brother confess his guilt, and implore forgiveness, and we ourselves will intercede, that he may be permitted to live in affluence and security. But let him not insult us by a second message: our reply will be made in arms, in the palace of Constantinople."

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On the tenth day of their encampment at Scutari, the crusaders prepared themselves, as soldiers and as catholics, for the passage of the Bosphorus. Perilous indeed was the adventure; the stream was broad and rapid; in a calm the current of the Euxine might drive down the liquid and unextinguishable fires of the Greeks; and the opposite shores of Europe were defended by seven thousand horse and foot in formidable array. On this memorable day, which happened to be bright and pleasant, the Latins were distributed in six battles or divisions; the first, or vanguard, was led by the count of Flanders, one of the most powerful of the Christian princes in the skill and number of his cross-bow. The four successive battles of the French were commanded by his brother Henry, the counts of St. Pol and Blois, and Matthew of Montmorency, the last of whom was honoured by the voluntary service of the marshal and nobles of Champagne. The sixth division, the rear-guard and reserve of the army, was conducted by the marquis of Montferrat, at the head of the Germans and Lombards. The chargers, saddled, with their long caparisons dragging on the ground, were embarked in

Passage of
the Bos-
phorus,
July 6.

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the flat *palanders* ; and the knights stood by the side of their horses, in complete armour, their helmets laced, and their lances in their hands. Their numerous train of *serjeants* and archers occupied the transports ; and each transport was towed by the strength and swiftness of a galley. The six divisions traversed the Bosphorus, without encountering an enemy or an obstacle ; to land the foremost was the wish, to conquer or die was the resolution, of every division and of every soldier. Jealous of the pre-eminence of danger, the knights, in their heavy armour, leaped into the sea, when it rose as high as their girdle ; the serjeants and archers were animated by their valour ; and the squires, letting down the drawbridges of the palanders, led the horses to the shore. Before the squadrons could mount, and form, and couch their lances, the seventy thousand Greeks had vanished from their sight ; the timid Alexius gave the example to his troops ; and it was only by the plunder of his rich pavilions that the Latins were informed that they had fought against an emperor. In the first consternation of the flying enemy, they resolved, by a double attack, to open the entrance of the harbour. The tower of Galata, in the suburb of Pera, was attacked and stormed by the French, while the Venetians assumed the more difficult task of forcing the boom or chain that was stretched from that tower to the Byzantine shore. After some fruitless attempts, their intrepid perseverance prevailed : twenty ships of war, the relics of the Grecian navy, were either sunk or taken : the enormous and massy links of iron were cut asunder by the shears, or broken by the weight, of the galleys ; and the Venetian fleet, safe and triumphant, rode at anchor in the port of Constantinople. By these daring achievements, a remnant of twenty thousand Latins solicited the licence of besieging a capital

which contained above four hundred thousand inhabitants*, able, though not willing, to bear arms in the defence of their country. Such an account would indeed suppose a population of near two millions; but whatever abatement may be required in the numbers of the Greeks, the *belief* of those numbers will equally exalt the fearless spirit of their assailants.

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In the choice of the attack, the French and Venetians were divided by their habits of life and warfare. The former affirmed, with truth, that Constantinople was most accessible on the side of the sea and the harbour. The latter might assert with honour, that they had long enough trusted their lives and fortunes to a frail bark and a precarious element, and loudly demanded a trial of knighthood, a firm ground, and a close onset, either on foot or horseback. After a prudent compromise, of employing the two nations by sea and land, in the service best suited to their character, the fleet covering the army, they both proceeded from the entrance to the extremity of the harbour; the stone-bridge of the river was hastily repaired; and the six battles of the French formed their encampment against the front of the capital, the basis of the triangle which runs about four miles from the port to the Propontis†. On the edge of a broad ditch, at the foot of a lofty rampart, they had leisure to contemplate the difficulties of their enterprise. The gates to the right and left of their narrow camp poured forth frequent sallies of cavalry and

First siege
and con-
quest of
Constanti-
nople by
the Latins,
July 7-18.

* *Quatre cens mil hommes ou plus* (Villehardouin, No. 134), must be understood of *men* of a military age. Le Beau (*Hist. du Bas Empire*, tom. xx. p. 417,) allows Constantinople a million of inhabitants, of whom 60,000 horse, and an infinite number of foot soldiers. In its present decay, the capital of the Ottoman empire may contain 400,000 souls (Bell's *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 401, 402); but as the Turks keep no registers, and as circumstances are fallacious, it is impossible to ascertain (Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, tom. i. p. 18, 19) the real populousness of their cities.

† On the most correct plans of Constantinople, I know not how to measure more than 4000 paces. Yet Villehardouin computes the space at three leagues (No. 86). If his eye were not deceived, he must reckon by the old Gallic league of 1500 paces, which might still be used in Champagne.

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light-infantry, which cut off their stragglers, swept the country of provisions, sounded the alarm five or six times in the course of each day, and compelled them to plant a palisade, and sink an entrenchment, for their immediate safety. In the supplies and convoys the Venetians had been too sparing, or the Franks too voracious; the usual complaints of hunger and scarcity were heard, and perhaps felt: their stock of flour would be exhausted in three weeks; and their disgust of salt meat tempted them to taste the flesh of their horses. The trembling usurper was supported by Theodore Lascaris, his son-in-law, a valiant youth, who aspired to save and to rule his country; the Greeks, regardless of that country, were awakened to the defence of their religion; but their firmest hope was in the strength and spirit of the Varangian guards, of the Danes and English, as they are named in the writers of the times*. After ten days' incessant labour, the ground was levelled, the ditch filled, the approaches of the besiegers were regularly made, and two hundred and fifty engines of assault exercised their various powers to clear the rampart, to batter the walls, and to sap the foundations. On the first appearance of a breach, the scaling-ladders were applied: the numbers that defended the vantage ground repulsed and oppressed the adventurous Latins; but they admired the resolution of fifteen knights and serjeants who had gained the ascent, and maintained their perilous station till they were precipitated or made prisoners by the Imperial guards. On the side of the harbour the naval attack was more successfully conducted by the Venetians; and that industrious people employed every resource that was known and practised before the

* The guards, the Varangi, are styled by Villehardouin (No. 89. 95, &c.) Englois et Danois avec leur haches. Whatever had been their origin, a French pilgrim could not be mistaken in the nations of which they were at that time composed.

invention of gunpowder. A double line, three bow-shots in front, was formed by the galleys and ships; and the swift motion of the former was supported by the weight and loftiness of the latter, whose decks, and poops, and turret, were the platforms of military engines, that discharged their shot over the heads of the first line. The soldiers, who leaped from the galleys on shore, immediately planted and ascended their scaling ladders, while the large ships, advancing more slowly into the intervals, and lowering a draw-bridge, opened a way through the air from their masts to the rampart. In the midst of the conflict, the doge, a venerable and conspicuous form, stood aloft in complete armour on the prow of his galley. The great standard of St. Mark was displayed before him; his threats, promises, and exhortations, urged the diligence of the rowers; his vessel was the first that struck; and Dandolo was the first warrior on the shore. The nations admired the magnanimity of the blind old man, without reflecting that his age and infirmities diminished the price of life, and enhanced the value of immortal glory. On a sudden, by an invisible hand (for the standard-bearer was probably slain), the banner of the republic was fixed on the rampart: twenty-five towers were rapidly occupied; and, by the cruel expedient of fire, the Greeks were driven from the adjacent quarter. The doge had despatched the intelligence of his success, when he was checked by the danger of his confederates. Nobly declaring, that he would rather die with the pilgrims than gain a victory by their destruction, Dandolo relinquished his advantage, recalled his troops, and hastened to the scene of action. He found the six weary diminutive *battles* of the French encompassed by sixty squadrons of the Greek cavalry, the least of which was more numerous than the largest of their divisions. Shame and despair had provoked Alexis

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to the last effort of a general sally; but he was awed by the firm order and manly aspect of the Latins; and, after skirmishing at a distance, withdrew his troops in the close of the evening. The silence or tumult of the night exasperated his fears; and the timid usurper, collecting a treasure of ten thousand pounds of gold, basely deserted his wife, his people, and his fortune; threw himself into a bark, stole through the Bosphorus, and landed in shameful safety in an obscure harbour of Thrace. As soon as they were apprised of his flight, the Greek nobles sought pardon and peace in the dungeon where the blind Isaac expected each hour the visit of the executioner. Again saved and exalted by the vicissitudes of fortune, the captive, in his imperial robes, was replaced on the throne, and surrounded with prostrate slaves, whose real terror and affected joy he was incapable of discerning. At the dawn of day hostilities were suspended; and the Latin chiefs were surprised by a message from the lawful and reigning emperor, who was impatient to embrace his son, and to reward his generous deliverers*.

Restoration
of the empe-
ror Isaac
Angelus,
and his son
Alexius,
July 19.

But these generous deliverers were unwilling to release their hostage, till they had obtained from his father the payment, or at least the promise, of their recompense. They chose four ambassadors, Matthew of Montmorency, our historian the marshal of Champagne, and two Venetians, to congratulate the emperor. The gates were thrown open on their approach, the streets on both sides were lined with the battle-axes of the Danish and English guard; the presence-chamber glittered with gold and jewels, the false substitutes of virtue and power; by-the side of the blind Isaac, his wife was seated, the sister of the

* For the first siege and conquest of Constantinople, we may read the original letter of the crusaders to Innocent III. *Gesta*, c. 91. p. 533, 534. Villehardouin, No 75—99. Nicetas in *Alexio Comnen.* l. iii. c. 10. p. 349—352. Dandolo, in *Chron.* p. 322.

king of Hungary ; and by her appearance, the noble matrons of Greece were drawn from their domestic retirement, and mingled with the circle of senators and soldiers. The Latins, by the mouth of the marshal, spoke like men, conscious of their merits, but who respected the work of their own hands ; and the emperor clearly understood, that his son's engagements with Venice and the pilgrims must be ratified without hesitation or delay. Withdrawing into a private chamber with the empress, a chamberlain, an interpreter, and the four ambassadors, the father of young Alexius inquired with some anxiety into the nature of his stipulations. The submission of the Eastern empire to the pope, the succour of the Holy Land, and a present contribution of two hundred thousand marks of silver—" These conditions " are weighty," was his prudent reply ; " they are " hard to accept, and difficult to perform. But no " conditions can exceed the measure of your services " and deserts." After this satisfactory assurance, the barons mounted on horseback, and introduced the heir of Constantinople to the city and palace : his youth and marvellous adventures engaged every heart in his favour, and Alexius was solemnly crowned with his father in the dome of St. Sophia. In the first days of his reign, the people, already blessed with the restoration of plenty and peace, was delighted by the joyful catastrophe of the tragedy ; and the discontent of the nobles, their regret, and their fears, were covered by the polished surface of pleasure and loyalty. The mixture of two discordant nations in the same capital might have been pregnant with mischief and danger ; and the suburb of Galata, or Pera, was assigned for the quarters of the French and Venetians. But the liberty of trade and familiar intercourse was allowed between the friendly nations ; and each day the pilgrims were tempted by devotion

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or curiosity to visit the churches and palaces of Constantinople. Their rude minds, insensible perhaps of the finer arts, were astonished by the magnificent scenery : and the poverty of their native towns enhanced the populousness and riches of the first metropolis of Christendom. Descending from his state, young Alexius was prompted by interest and gratitude to repeat his frequent and familiar visits to his Latin allies ; and in the freedom of the table, the gay petulance of the French sometimes forgot the emperor of the East*. In their most serious conferences, it was agreed, that the reunion of the two churches must be the result of patience and time ; but avarice was less tractable than zeal ; and a large sum was instantly disbursed to appease the wants, and silence the importunity, of the crusaders. Alexius was alarmed by the approaching hour of their departure : their absence might have relieved him from the engagement which he was yet incapable of performing ; but his friends would have left him, naked and alone, to the caprice and prejudice of a perfidious nation. He wished to bribe their stay, the delay of a year, by undertaking to defray their expense, and to satisfy, in their name, the freight of the Venetian vessels. The offer was agitated in the council of the barons ; and, after a repetition of their debates and scruples, a majority of votes again acquiesced in the advice of the doge and the prayer of the young emperor. At the price of sixteen hundred pounds of gold, he prevailed on the marquis of Montferrat to lead him with an army round the provinces of Europe ; to establish his authority, and pursue his uncle, while Constantinople was awed by the presence of Baldwin and his confederates of France and

* As they played at dice, the Latins took off his diadem, and clapped on his head a woollen or hairy cap, το μεγαλοκριπις και παγκλιςεν και ερρυπηεν ονομα (Nicetas, p. 358). If these merry companions were Venetians, it was the insolence of trade and a commonwealth.

Flanders. The expedition was successful ; the blind emperor exulted in the success of his arms, and listened to the predictions of his flatterers, that the same Providence which had raised him from the dungeon to the throne would watch over the long prosperity of his reign. Yet the mind of the suspicious old man was tormented by the rising glories of his son ; nor could his pride conceal from his envy, that, while his own name was pronounced in faint and reluctant acclamations, the royal youth was the theme of spontaneous and universal praise.

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XLV.

By the recent invasion, the Greeks were awakened from a dream of nine centuries ; from the vain presumption that the capital of the Roman empire was impregnable to foreign arms. The strangers of the West had violated the city, and bestowed the sceptre of Constantine : their Imperial clients soon became as unpopular as themselves : the well-known vices of Isaac were rendered still more contemptible by his infirmities, and the young Alexius was hated as an apostate, who had renounced the manners and religion of his country. His secret covenant with the Latins was divulged or suspected ; the people, and especially the clergy, were devoutly attached to their faith and superstition ; and every convent, and every shop, resounded with the danger of the church and the tyranny of the pope. An empty treasury could ill supply the demands of regal luxury and foreign extortion : the Greeks refused to avert, by a general tax, the impending evils of servitude and pillage ; the oppression of the rich excited a more dangerous and personal resentment ; and if the emperor melted the plate, and despoiled the images of the sanctuary, he seemed to justify the complaints of heresy and sacrilege. During the absence of marquis Boniface and his Imperial pupil, Constantinople was visited with a calamity which might be justly imputed to the

Quarrel of
the Greeks
and Latins.

CHAP.
XLV.

zeal and indiscretion of the Flemish pilgrims*. In one of their visits to the city, they were scandalized by the aspect of a mosch. Their effectual mode of controversy was to attack the infidels with the sword, and their habitation with fire: but the infidels, and some Christian neighbours, presumed to defend their lives and properties; and the flames which bigotry had kindled consumed the most orthodox and innocent structures. During eight days and nights, the conflagration spread above a league in front, from the harbour to the Propontis, over the thickest and most populous regions of the city. It is not easy to count the stately churches and palaces that were reduced to a smoking ruin, to value the merchandise that perished in the trading streets, or to number the families that were involved in the common destruction. By this outrage, which the doge and the barons in vain affected to disclaim, the name of the Latins became still more unpopular; and the colony of that nation, above fifteen thousand persons, consulted their safety in a hasty retreat from the city to the protection of their standard in the suburb of Pera. The emperor returned in triumph; but the firmest and most dexterous policy would have been insufficient to steer him through the tempest, which overwhelmed the person and government of that unhappy youth. His own inclination, and his father's advice, attached him to his benefactors; but Alexius hesitated between gratitude and patriotism, between the fear of his subjects and of his allies. By his feeble and fluctuating conduct he lost the esteem and confidence of both; and while he invited the marquis of Montferrat to occupy the palace, he suffered the nobles to conspire, and the people to arm, for the

* Nicetas (p. 355.) is positive in the charge, and specifies the Flemings (Φλαμίνος), though he is wrong in supposing it an ancient name. Villehardouin (No 107.) exculpates the barons, and is ignorant (perhaps affectedly ignorant) of the names of the guilty.

deliverance of their country. Regardless of his painful situation, the Latin chiefs repeated their demands, resented his delays, suspected his intentions, and exacted a decisive answer of peace or war. The haughty summons was delivered by three French knights and three Venetian deputies, who girded their swords, mounted their horses, pierced through the angry multitude, and entered with a fearless countenance the palace and presence of the Greek emperor. In a peremptory tone, they recapitulated their services and his engagements; and boldly declared, that unless their just claims were fully and immediately satisfied, they should no longer hold him either as a sovereign or a friend. After this defiance, the first that had ever wounded an Imperial ear, they departed without betraying any symptoms of fear; but their escape from a servile palace and a furious city astonished the ambassadors themselves; and their return to the camp was the signal of mutual hostility.

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Among the Greeks, all authority and wisdom were overborne by the impetuous multitude, who mistook their rage for valour, their numbers for strength, and their fanaticism for the support and inspiration of heaven. In the eyes of both nations Alexius was false and contemptible: the base and spurious race of the Angeli was rejected with clamorous disdain; and the people of Constantinople encompassed the senate, to demand at their hands a more worthy emperor. To every senator, conspicuous by his birth or dignity, they successively presented the purple: by each senator the deadly garment was repulsed: the contest lasted three days; and we may learn from the historian Nicetas, one of the members of the assembly, that fear and weakness were the guardians of their loyalty. A phantom, who vanished in oblivion, was forcibly proclaimed by the crowd*; but the author

The war
renewed,
A. D. 1204.

* His name was Nicholas Canabus; he deserved the praise of Nicetas and the vengeance of Mourzoufle (p. 362).

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of the tumult, and the leader of the war, was a prince of the house of Ducas; and his common appellation of Alexius must be discriminated by the epithet of Mourzoufle*, which in the vulgar idiom expressed the close junction of his black and shaggy eyebrows. At once a patriot and a courtier, the perfidious Mourzoufle, who was not destitute of cunning and courage, opposed the Latins both in speech and action, inflamed the passions and prejudices of the Greeks, and insinuated himself into the favour and confidence of Alexius, who trusted him with the office of great chamberlain, and tinged his buskins with the colours of royalty. At the dead of night he rushed into the bedchamber with an affrighted aspect, exclaiming that the palace was attacked by the people and betrayed by the guards. Starting from his couch, the unsuspecting prince threw himself into the arms of his enemy, who had contrived his escape by a private staircase. But that staircase terminated in a prison: Alexius was seized, stripped, and loaded with chains; and, after tasting some days the bitterness of death, he was poisoned, or strangled, or beaten with clubs, at the command, or in the presence, of the tyrant. The emperor Isaac Angelus soon followed his son to the grave, and Mourzoufle, perhaps, might spare the superfluous crime of hastening the extinction of impotence and blindness.

Alexius and
his father
deposed by
Mourzoufle,
Feb. 8.

Second
siege,
January—
April.

The death of the emperors, and the usurpation of Mourzoufle, had changed the nature of the quarrel. It was no longer the disagreement of allies who over-valued their services, or neglected their obligations: the French and Venetians forgot their complaints against Alexius, dropt a tear on the untimely fate of

* Villehardouin (No. 116) speaks of him as a favourite, without knowing that he was a prince of the blood, *Angelus* and *Ducas*. Ducange, who pries into every corner, believes him to be the son of Isaac Ducas Sebastocrator, and second cousin of young Alexius.

their companion, and swore revenge against the perfidious nation who had crowned his assassin. Yet the prudent doge was still inclined to negotiate ; he asked as a debt, a subsidy, or a fine, fifty thousand pounds of gold, about two millions sterling : nor would the conference have been abruptly broken, if the zeal or policy of Mourzoufle had not refused to sacrifice the Greek church to the safety of the state. Amidst the invective of his foreign and domestic enemies, we may discern, that he was not unworthy of the character which he had assumed, of the public champion : the second siege of Constantinople was far more laborious than the first ; the treasury was replenished, and discipline was restored, by a severe inquisition into the abuses of the former reign : and Mourzoufle, an iron mace in his hand, visiting the posts, and affecting the port and aspect of a warrior, was an object of terror to his soldiers, at least, and to his kinsmen. Before and after the death of Alexius, the Greeks made two vigorous and well-conducted attempts to burn the navy in the harbour ; but the skill and courage of the Venetians repulsed the fire-ships ; and the vagrant flames wasted themselves without injury in the sea. In a nocturnal sally the Greek emperor was vanquished by Henry, brother of the count of Flanders : the advantages of number and surprise aggravated the shame of his defeat ; his buckler was found on the field of battle ; and the Imperial standard was presented as a trophy to the Cistercian monks. Near three months were consumed in skirmishes and preparations, before the Latins were ready or resolved for a general assault. The land fortifications had been found impregnable ; and the Venetian pilots represented, that, on the shore of the Propontis, the anchorage was unsafe, and the ships must be driven by the current far away to the straits of the Hellespont ; a prospect not displeasing to the reluctant pilgrims,

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who sought every opportunity of breaking the army. From the harbour, therefore, the assault was determined by the assailants, and expected by the besieged : and the emperor had placed his scarlet pavilions on a neighbouring height, to direct and animate the efforts of his troops. A fearless spectator, whose mind could entertain the ideas of pomp and pleasure, might have admired the long array of two embattled armies which extended above half a league, the one on the ships and galleys, the other on the walls and towers, raised above the ordinary level by several stages of wooden turrets. Their first fury was spent in the discharge of darts, stones, and fire, from the engines ; but the water was deep ; the French were bold ; the Venetians were skilful ; they approached the walls ; and a desperate conflict of swords, spears, and battle-axes, was fought on the trembling bridges that grappled the floating, to the stable, batteries. In more than a hundred places, the assault was urged, and the defence was sustained ; till the superiority of ground and numbers finally prevailed, and the Latin trumpets sounded a retreat. On the ensuing days, the attack was renewed with equal vigour, and a similar event ; and in the night, the doge and the barons held a council, apprehensive only for the public danger : not a voice pronounced the words of escape or treaty ; and each warrior, according to his temper, embraced the hope of victory or the assurance of a glorious death. By the experience of the former siege the Greeks were instructed, but the Latins were animated ; and the knowledge that Constantinople *might* be taken was of more avail than the local precautions which that knowledge had inspired for its defence. In the third assault, two ships were linked together to double their strength ; a strong north wind drove them on the shore : the bishops of Troyes and Soissons led the van ; and the auspicious

names of the *pilgrim* and the *paradise* resounded along the line. The episcopal banners were displayed on the walls; a hundred marks of silver had been promised to the first adventurers; and if their reward was intercepted by death, their names have been immortalized by fame. Four towers were scaled; three gates were burst open; and the French knights, who might tremble on the waves, felt themselves invincible on horseback on the solid ground. Shall I relate that the thousands who guarded the emperor's person fled on the approach and before the lance of a single warrior? Their ignominious flight is attested by their countryman Nicetas; an army of phantoms marched with the French hero, and he was magnified to a giant in the eyes of the Greeks. While the fugitives deserted their posts and cast away their arms, the Latins entered the city under the banners of their leaders: the streets and gates opened for their passage; and either design or accident kindled a third conflagration, which consumed in a few hours the measure of three of the largest cities of France. In the close of the evening, the barons checked their troops, and fortified their stations; they were awed by the extent and populousness of the capital, which might yet require the labour of a month, if the churches and palaces were conscious of their internal strength. But in the morning, a suppliant procession, with crosses and images, announced the submission of the Greeks, and deprecated the wrath of the conquerors; the usurper escaped through the golden gate; the palaces of Blachernæ and Boucoleon were occupied by the count of Flanders, and the marquis of Montferrat; and the empire which still bore the name of Constantine, and the title of Roman, was subverted by the arms of the Latin pilgrims*.

* For the second siege and conquest of Constantinople, see Villehardouin (No. 113—132), Baldwin's second Epistle to Innocent III. (Gesta, c. 92. p. 534—

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Pillage of
Constantinople.

Constantinople had been taken by storm ; and no restraints, except those of religion and humanity, were imposed on the conquerors by the laws of war. Boniface marquis of Montferrat still acted as their general ; and the Greeks, who revered his name as that of their future sovereign, were heard to exclaim in a lamentable tone, “ Holy marquis-king, have “ mercy upon us ! ” His prudence or compassion opened the gates of the city to the fugitives ; and he exhorted the soldiers of the cross to spare the lives of their fellow-Christians. The streams of blood that flow down the pages of Nicetas may be reduced to the slaughter of two thousand of his unresisting countrymen ; and the greater part was massacred, not by the strangers, but by the Latins, who had been driven from the city, and who exercised the revenge of a triumphant faction. Yet of these exiles, some were less mindful of injuries than of benefits ; and Nicetas himself was indebted for his safety to the generosity of a Venetian merchant. The marquis of Montferrat was the patron of discipline and decency ; the count of Flanders was the mirror of chastity ; they had forbidden, under pain of death, the rape of married women, or virgins, or nuns ; and the proclamation was sometimes invoked by the vanquished and respected by the victors. Their cruelty and lust were moderated by the authority of the chiefs and feelings of the soldiers ; for we are no longer describing an irruption of the northern savages ; and however ferocious they might still appear, time, policy, and religion, had civilized the manners of the French, and still more of the Italians. But a free scope was allowed to their avarice, which was glutted by the pillage of Constantinople. The right of victory, unshackled by any promise or treaty, had confiscated the public and private wealth of the Greeks, and

537), with the whole reign of Mourzoufle, in Nicetas (p. 363—375) ; and borrow some hints from Dandolo (*Chron. Venet.* p. 327—330), and Gunther (*Hist. C. P. c.* 14—18).

every hand, according to its size and strength, might lawfully execute the sentence and seize the forfeiture.

A portable and universal standard of exchange was found in the coined and uncoined metals of gold and silver, which each captor at home or abroad might convert into the possessions most suitable to his temper and situation. Of the treasures which trade and luxury had accumulated, the silks, velvets, furs, the gems, spices, and rich moveables, were the most precious, as they could not be procured for money in the ruder countries of Europe. An order of rapine was instituted; nor was the share of each individual abandoned to industry or chance. Under the tremendous penalties of perjury, excommunication, and death, the Latins were bound to deliver their plunder into the common stock; three churches were selected for the deposit and distribution of the spoil: a single share was allotted to a foot soldier; two for a serjeant on horseback; four to a knight; and larger proportions according to the rank and merit of the barons and princes. For violating this sacred engagement, a knight belonging to the count of St. Paul was hanged with his shield and coat of arms round his neck; his example might render similar offenders more artful and discreet; but avarice was more powerful than fear; and it is generally believed, that the secret far exceeded the acknowledged plunder. Yet the magnitude of the prize surpassed the largest scale of experience or expectation*. After the whole had been equally divided between the French and Venetians, fifty thousand marks were deducted to satisfy the debts of the former and the demands of the latter. The residue of the French amounted to four

Division of
the spoil.

* Of the general mass of wealth, Gunther observes, *ut de pauperibus et advenis cives ditissimi redderentur* (Hist. C. P. c. 18); Villehardouin (No. 132), that since the creation, *ne fut tant gagné dans une vill*; Baldwin (Gesta, c. 92), *ut tantum tota non videatur possidere Latinitas*.

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hundred thousand marks of silver*, about eight hundred thousand pounds sterling; nor can I better appreciate the value of that sum in the public and private transactions of the age, than by defining it at seven times the annual revenue of the kingdom of England.

Misery of
the Greeks.

In this great revolution we enjoy the singular felicity of comparing the narratives of Villehardouin and Nicetas, the opposite feelings of the marshal of Champagne and the Byzantine senator. At the first view it would seem that the wealth of Constantinople was only transferred from one nation to another; and that the loss and sorrow of the Greeks is exactly balanced by the joy and advantage of the Latins. But, in the miserable account of war, the gain is never equivalent to the loss, the pleasure to the pain: the smiles of the Latins were transient and fallacious; the Greeks for ever wept over the ruins of their country; and their real calamities were aggravated by sacrilege and mockery. What benefits accrued to the conquerors from the three fires which annihilated so vast a portion of the buildings and riches of the city? What a stock of such things, as could neither be used nor transported, was maliciously or wantonly destroyed! How much treasure was idly wasted in gaming, debauchery, and riot! And what precious objects were bartered for a vile price by the impatience or ignorance of the soldiers, whose reward was stolen by the base industry of the last of the Greeks! These alone, who had nothing to lose, might derive some profit from the revolution; but the misery of the upper ranks of society is strongly painted in the

* Villehardouin, No. 133—135. Instead of 400,000, there is a various reading of 500,000. The Venetians had offered to take the whole booty, and to give 400 marks to each knight, 200 to each priest and horseman, and 100 to each foot soldier; they would have been great losers (*Le Beau, Hist. du Bas-Empire, tom. xx. p. 506. I know not from whence*).

personal adventures of Nicetas himself. His stately palace had been reduced to ashes in the second conflagration; and the senator, with his family and friends, found an obscure shelter in another house which he possessed near the church of St. Sophia. It was the door of this mean habitation that his friend the Venetian merchant guarded in the disguise of a soldier, till Nicetas could save, by a precipitate flight, the relics of his fortune and the chastity of his daughter. In a cold wintry season, these fugitives, nursed in the lap of prosperity, departed on foot: his wife was with child; the desertion of their slaves compelled them to carry their baggage on their own shoulders; and their women, whom they placed in the centre, were exhorted to conceal their beauty with dirt, instead of adorning it with paint and jewels. Every step was exposed to insult and danger: the threats of the strangers were less painful than the taunts of the plebeians, with whom they were now levelled; nor did the exiles breathe in safety till their mournful pilgrimage was concluded at Selymbria, above forty miles from the capital. On the way they overtook the patriarch, without attendance and almost without apparel, riding on an ass. In the mean while his desolate churches were profaned by the licentiousness and party zeal of the Latins. Nor were the repositories of the royal dead secure from violation: in the Church of the Apostles, the tombs of the emperors were rifled; and it is said that, after six centuries, the corpse of Justinian was found without any signs of decay or putrefaction. In the streets the French and Flemings clothed themselves and their horses in painted robes and flowing head-dresses of linen; and the coarse intemperance of their feasts* insulted the splendid

* If I rightly apprehend the Greek of Nicetas's receipts, their favourite dishes

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sobriety of the East. To expose the arms of a people of scribes and scholars, they affected to display a pen, an ink-horn, and a sheet of paper, without discerning that the instruments of science and valour were *alike* feeble and useless in the hands of the modern Greeks.

Destruction
of the
statues.

Their reputation and their language encouraged them, however, to despise the ignorance, and to overlook the progress, of the Latins. In the love of the arts, the national difference was still more obvious and real; the Greeks preserved with reverence the works of their ancestors, which they could not imitate; and, in the destruction of the statues of Constantinople, we are provoked to join in the complaints and invectives of the Byzantine historian*. We have seen how the rising city was adorned by the vanity and despotism of the Imperial founder; in the ruins of paganism some gods and heroes were saved from the axe; and the forum and hippodrome were dignified with the relics of a better age. Several of these are described by Nicetas†, in a florid and affected style; and, from his descriptions, I shall select some interesting particulars. 1. The victorious charioteers were cast in bronze, at their own, or the public charge, and fitly placed in the hippodrome: they stood aloft in their chariots, wheeling round the goal; the spectators could admire their attitude, and judge of the resemblance; and of these figures, the most perfect might have been transported from the

were boiled buttocks of beef, salt pork and pease, and soup made of garlic and sharp or sour herbs (p. 382).

* Nicetas was of Chonæ in Phrygia (the old Colossæ of St. Paul): he raised himself to the honours of senator, judge of the veil, and great logothete; beheld the fall of the empire, retired to Nice, and composed an elaborate history from the death of Alexius Comnenus to the reign of Henry.

† A manuscript of Nicetas, in the Bodleian library, contains this curious fragment on the statues of Constantinople, which fraud, or shame, or rather carelessness, has dropt in the common editions. It is published by Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 405—416), and immoderately praised by the late ingenious Mr. Harris of Salisbury (Philological Inquiries, p. iii. c. 5. p. 301—312).

Olympic stadium. 2. The sphynx, river-horse, and crocodile, denote the climate and manufacture of Egypt, and the spoils of that ancient province. 3. The she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus; a subject alike pleasing to the *old* and the *new* Romans; but which could rarely be treated before the decline of the Greek sculpture. 4. An eagle holding and tearing a serpent in his talons; a domestic monument of the Byzantines, which they ascribed, not to a human artist, but to the magic power of the philosopher Apollonius, who, by his talisman, delivered the city from such venomous reptiles. 5. An ass, and his driver; which were erected by Augustus in his colony of Nicopolis, to commemorate a verbal omen of the victory of Actium. 6. An equestrian statue, which represented the figures of Bellerophon and Pegasus; and the free attitude of the steed seemed to mark that he trod on air, rather than on the earth. 7. A square and lofty obelisk of brass; the sides were embossed with a variety of picturesque and rural scenes: birds singing; rustics labouring, or playing on their pipes; sheep bleating; lambs skipping; the sea, and a scene of fish and fishing; little naked Cupids laughing, playing, and pelting each other with apples; and, on the summit, a female figure turning with the slightest breath, and thence denominated *the winds' attendant*. 8. The Phrygian shepherd presenting to Venus the prize of beauty, the apple of discord. 9. The incomparable statue of Helen; which is delineated by Nicetas in the words of admiration and love: her well-turned feet, snowy arms, rosy lips, bewitching smiles, swimming eyes, arched eyebrows, the harmony of her shape, the lightness of her drapery, and her flowing locks that waved in the wind: a beauty that might have moved her Barbarian destroyers to pity and remorse. 10. The manly or divine form of Hercules,

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as he was restored to life by the master-hand of Lysippus; of such magnitude, that his thumb was equal to the waist, his leg to the stature, of a common man; his chest ample, his shoulders broad, his limbs strong and muscular, his hair curled, his aspect commanding. Without his bow, or quiver, or club, his lion's skin carelessly thrown over him, he was seated on an osier basket, his right leg and arm stretched to the utmost, his left knee bent, and supporting his elbow, his head reclining on his left hand, his countenance indignant and pensive. 11. A colossal statue of Juno, which had once adorned her temple of Samos; the enormous head by four yoke of oxen was laboriously drawn to the palace. 12. Another colossus, of Pallas or Minerva, thirty feet in height, and representing with admirable spirit the attributes and character of the martial maid. Before we accuse the Latins, it is just to remark, that this Pallas was destroyed after the first siege, by the fear and superstition of the Greeks themselves. The other statues of brass which I have enumerated were broken and melted by the unfeeling avarice of the crusaders: the cost and labour were consumed in a moment; the soul of genius evaporated in smoke; and the remnant of base metal was coined into money for the payment of the troops. Bronze is not the most durable of monuments: from the marble forms of Phidias and Praxiteles, the Latins might turn aside with stupid contempt*; but unless

* In two passages of Nicetas (edit. Paris, p. 360. Fabric. p. 408), the Latins are branded with the lively reproach of *ὁ τὸ καλὸν ἀνιχνύοντες βαρβαροὶ*, and their avarice of brass is clearly expressed. Yet the Venetians had the merit of removing four bronze horses from Constantinople to the Place of St. Mark (Sanuto, *Vite del Dogi*, in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. xxii. p. 534).

These celebrated horses continued during a period of near six centuries to be the object of admiration at Venice; but, in the year 1797, they were removed by Bonaparte, and placed by his orders on the triumphal arch in the Caroussel at Paris. They remained in that situation till the year 1815, when Paris being taken by the English under the command of the Duke of Wellington, these masterpieces of sculpture were restored to Venice, and were once more placed over the entrance of the Church of St. Mark.—*The Editor*.

they were crushed by some accidental injury, those useless stones stood secure on their pedestals. Of the writings of antiquity, many that still existed in the twelfth century are now lost. But the pilgrims were not solicitous to save or transport the volumes of an unknown tongue: the perishable substance of paper or parchment can only be preserved by the multiplicity of copies; the literature of the Greeks had almost centered in the metropolis; and, without computing the extent of our loss, we may drop a tear over the libraries that have perished in the triple fire of Constantinople*.

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* I shall conclude this chapter with the notice of a modern history, which illustrates the taking of Constantinople by the Latins; but which has fallen somewhat late into my hands. Paolo Ramusio, the son of the compiler of voyages, was directed by the senate of Venice to write the history of the conquest; and this order, which he received in his youth, he executed in a mature age, by an elegant Latin work, *De Bello Constantinopolitano et Imperatoribus Comnenis per Gallos et Venetos restitutis* (Venet. 1635, in folio). Ramusio, or Rhamnusius, transcribes and translates, *sequitur ad unguem*, a MS. of Villehardouin, which he possessed; but he enriches his narrative with Greek and Latin materials, and we are indebted to him for a correct state of the fleet, the names of the fifty Venetian nobles who commanded the galleys of the republic, and the patriot opposition of Pantaleon Barbus to the choice of the doge for emperor.

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*Partition of the Empire by the French and Venetians.—
Five Latin Emperors of the Houses of Flanders and
Courtenay.—Their Wars against the Bulgarians and
Greeks.—Weakness and Poverty of the Latin Empire.—
Recovery of Constantinople by the Greeks.*

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Election of
the emperor
Baldwin I.
A. D. 1204.
May 9—16.

AFTER the death of the lawful princes, the French and Venetians, confident of justice and victory, agreed to divide and regulate their future possessions *. It was stipulated by treaty, that twelve electors, six of either nation, should be nominated; that a majority should choose the emperor of the East; and that, if the votes were equal, the decision of chance should ascertain the successful candidate. To him, with all the titles and prerogatives of the Byzantine throne, they assigned the two palaces of Boucoleon and Blachernæ, with a fourth part of the Greek monarchy. It was defined that the three remaining portions should be equally shared between the republic of Venice and the barons of France; that each feudatory, with an honourable exception for the doge, should acknowledge and perform the duties of homage and military service to the supreme head of the empire; that the nation which gave an emperor should resign to their brethren the choice of a patriarch; and that the pilgrims, whatever might be their impatience to visit the Holy Land, should devote another year to the conquest and defence of the Greek provinces. After the conquest

* See the original treaty of partition, in the Venetian chronicle of Andrew Dandolo, p. 326—330, and the subsequent election in Villehardouin, No. 136—140, with Ducange in his *Observations*, and the 1st book of his *Histoire de Constantinople sous l'Empire des François*.

of Constantinople by the Latins, the treaty was confirmed and executed; and the first and most important step was the creation of an emperor. The six electors of the French nation were all ecclesiastics, the abbot of Loces, the archbishop elect of Acre in Palestine, and the bishops of Troyes, Soissons, Halberstadt, and Bethlehem, the last of whom exercised in the camp the office of pope's legate: their profession and knowledge were respectable; and as *they* could not be the objects, they were best qualified to be the authors of the choice. The six Venetians were the principal servants of the state, and in this list the noble families of Querini and Contarini are still proud to discover their ancestors. The twelve assembled in the chapel of the palace, and proceeded to deliberate and vote. A just impulse of respect and gratitude prompted them to crown the virtues of the doge: his wisdom had inspired their enterprise; and the most youthful knights might envy and applaud the exploits of blindness and age. But the patriot Dandolo was devoid of all personal ambition, and fully satisfied that he had been judged worthy to reign. His nomination was over-ruled by the Venetians themselves; his countrymen, and perhaps his friends, represented, with the eloquence of truth, the mischiefs that might arise to national freedom and the common cause, from the union of two incompatible characters, of the first magistrate of a republic and the emperor of the East. The exclusion of the doge left room for the more equal merits of Boniface and Baldwin; and at their names all meaner candidates respectfully withdrew. The marquis of Montferrat was recommended by his mature age and fair reputation, by the choice of the adventurers, and the wishes of the Greeks; nor can I believe that Venice, the mistress of the sea, could be seriously apprehensive of a petty lord at the foot of the Alps. But the count of

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Flanders was the chief of a wealthy and warlike people; he was valiant, pious, and chaste; in the prime of life, since he was only thirty-two years of age; a descendant of Charlemagne, a cousin of the king of France, and a compeer of the prelates and barons who had yielded with reluctance to the command of a foreigner. Without the chapel, these barons, with the doge and marquis at their head, expected the decision of the twelve electors. It was announced by the bishop of Soissons, in the name of his colleagues; "Ye have sworn to obey the prince whom we should choose: by our unanimous suffrage, Baldwin count of Flanders and Hainault is now your sovereign, and the emperor of the East." He was saluted with loud applause, and the proclamation was re-echoed through the city by the joy of the Latins, and the trembling adulation of the Greeks. Boniface was the first to kiss the hand of his rival, and to raise him on the buckler; and Baldwin was transported to the cathedral, and solemnly invested with the purple buskins. At the end of three weeks he was crowned by the legate, in the vacancy of a patriarch; but the Venetian clergy soon filled the chapter of St. Sophia, seated Thomas Morosini on the ecclesiastical throne, and employed every art to perpetuate in their own nation the honours and benefices of the Greek church. Without delay the successor of Constantine instructed Palestine, France, and Rome of this memorable revolution. To Palestine he sent, as a trophy, the gates of Constantinople, and the chain of the harbour*; and adopted, from the Assise of Jerusalem, the laws or customs best adapted to a French colony and conquest in the East. In his epistles, the natives of France are encouraged to swell that colony, and to secure that conquest, to people a magnificent city

* Nicetas, p. 383.

and a fertile land, which will reward the labours both of the priest and the soldier. He congratulates the Roman pontiff on the restoration of his authority in the East; invites him to extinguish the Greek schism by his presence in a general council; and implores his blessing and forgiveness for the disobedient pilgrims. Prudence and dignity are blended in the answer of Innocent *. In the subversion of the Byzantine empire, he arraigns the vices of man, and adores the providence of God: the conquerors will be absolved or condemned by their future conduct; the validity of their treaty depends on the judgment of St. Peter; but he inculcates their most sacred duty of establishing a just subordination of obedience and tribute, from the Greeks to the Latins, from the magistrate to the clergy, and from the clergy to the pope.

In the division of the Greek provinces, the share of the Venetians was more ample than that of the Latin emperor. No more than one fourth was appropriated to his domain; a clear moiety of the remainder was reserved for Venice; and the other moiety was distributed among the adventurers of France and Lombardy. The venerable Dandolo was proclaimed despot of Romania, and invested after the Greek fashion with the purple buskins. He ended at Constantinople his long and glorious life; and if the prerogative was personal, the title was used by his successors till the middle of the fourteenth century, with the singular though true addition of lords of one fourth and a half of the Roman empire. The doge, a slave of state, was seldom permitted to depart from the helm of the re-

Division of
the Greek
empire.

* The Epistles of Innocent III. are a rich fund for the ecclesiastical and civil institution of the Latin empire of Constantinople; and the most important of these epistles (of which the collection in 2 vols. in folio, is published by Stephen Baluze) are inserted in his *Gesta*, in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. iii. p. 1. c. 94—105.

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public; but his place was supplied by the *bail*, or regent, who exercised a supreme jurisdiction over the colony of Venetians; they possessed three of the eight quarters of the city; and his independent tribunal was composed of six judges, four counsellors, two chamberlains, two fiscal advocates, and a constable. Their long experience of the Eastern trade enabled them to select their portion with discernment: they had rashly accepted the dominion and defence of Adrianople; but it was the more reasonable aim of their policy to form a chain of factories, and cities, and islands, along the maritime coast, from the neighbourhood of Ragusa to the Hellespont and the Bosphorus. The labour and cost of such extensive conquests exhausted their treasury; they abandoned their maxims of government, adopted a feudal system, and contented themselves with the homage of their nobles*, for the possessions which these private vassals undertook to reduce and maintain. And thus it was, that the family of Sanut acquired the duchy of Naxos, which involved the greatest part of the Archipelago. For the price of ten thousand marks, the republic purchased of the marquis of Montferrat the fertile island of Crete, or Candia, with the ruins of a hundred cities; but its improvement was stunted by the proud and narrow spirit of an aristocracy; and the wisest senators would confess that the sea, not the land, was the treasury of St. Mark. In the moiety of the adventurers, the marquis Boniface might claim the most liberal reward; and, besides the isle of Crete, his exclusion from the throne was compensated by the royal title and the provinces beyond the Hellespont. But he prudently exchanged that distant and difficult

* Ducange (Hist de C. P. ii. 6.) has marked the conquests made by the state or nobles of Venice of the islands of Candia, Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Naxos, Paros, Melos, Andros, Mycone, Scyro, Cea, and Lemnos.

conquest for the kingdom of Thessalonica or Macedonia, twelve days' journey from the capital, where he might be supported by the neighbouring powers of his brother-in-law the king of Hungary. His progress was hailed by the voluntary or reluctant acclamations of the natives; and Greece, the proper and ancient Greece, again received a Latin conqueror*, who trod with indifference that classic ground. He viewed with a careless eye the beauties of the valley of Tempe; traversed with a cautious step the straits of Thermopylæ; occupied the unknown cities of Thebes, Athens, and Argos; and assaulted the fortifications of Corinth and Napoli†, which resisted his arms. The lots of the Latin pilgrims were regulated by chance, or choice, or subsequent exchange; and they abused, with intemperate joy, the triumph over the lives and fortunes of a great people. After a minute survey of the provinces, they weighed in the scales of avarice the revenue of each district, the advantage of the situation, and the ample or scanty supplies for the maintenance of soldiers and horses. Their presumption claimed and divided the long-lost dependencies of the Roman sceptre: the Nile and Euphrates rolled through their imaginary realms; and happy was the warrior who drew for his prize the palace of the Turkish sultan of Iconium. I shall not descend to the pedigree of families and the rent-roll of estates, but I wish to specify that the counts of Blois and St. Pol were invested with the duchy of Nice and the lordship of Demetika; the principal fiefs were held by the service of constable, chamberlain, cup-bearer, butler, and chief cook; and our historian, Jeffrey of Ville-

* Villehardouin (No. 159, 160, 173—177.) and Nicetas (p. 387—394.) describe the expedition into Greece of the marquis Boniface.

† Napoli di Romania, or Nauplia, the ancient seaport of Argos, is still a place of strength and consideration, situate on a rocky peninsula, with a good harbour (Chandler's *Travels into Greece*, p. 227).

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hardouin, obtained a fair establishment on the banks of the Hebrus, and united the double office of marshal of Champagne and Romania. At the head of his knights and archers, each baron mounted on horseback to secure the possession of his share, and their first efforts were generally successful. But the public force was weakened by their dispersion ; and a thousand quarrels must arise under a law, and among men, whose sole umpire was the sword. Within three months after the conquest of Constantinople, the emperor and the king of Thessalonica drew their hostile followers into the field ; they were reconciled by the authority of the doge, the advice of the marshal, and the firm freedom of their peers.

Revolt of
the Greeks,
A. D. 1204,
&c.

Two fugitives, who had reigned at Constantinople, still asserted the title of emperor ; and the subjects of their fallen throne might be moved to pity by the misfortunes of the elder Alexius, or excited to revenge by the spirit of Mourzoufle. A domestic alliance, a common interest, a similar guilt, and the merit of extinguishing his enemies, a brother and a nephew, induced the more recent usurper to unite with the former the relics of his power. Mourzoufle was received with smiles and honours in the camp of his father Alexius ; but the wicked can never love, and should rarely trust, their fellow criminals ; he was seized in the bath, deprived of his eyes, stripped of his troops and treasures, and turned out to wander an object of horror and contempt to those who with more propriety could hate, and with more justice could punish, the assassin of the emperor Isaac and his son. As the tyrant, pursued by fear or remorse, was stealing over to Asia, he was seized by the Latins of Constantinople, and condemned, after an open trial, to an ignominious death. His judges debated the mode of his execution, the axe, the wheel, or the

stake; and it was resolved that Mourzoufle * should ascend the Theodosian column, a pillar of white marble of one hundred and forty-seven feet in height. From the summit he was cast down headlong, and dashed in pieces on the pavement, in the presence of innumerable spectators, who filled the forum of Taurus, and admired the accomplishment of an old prediction, which was explained by this singular event. The fate of Alexius is less tragical: he was sent by the marquis a captive to Italy, and a gift to the king of the Romans; but he had not much to applaud his fortune, if the sentence of imprisonment and exile were changed from a fortress in the Alps to a monastery in Asia. But his daughter, before the national calamity, had been given in marriage to a young hero who continued the succession, and restored the throne, of the Greek princes †. The valour of Theodore Lascaris was signalised in the two sieges of Constantinople. After the flight of Mourzoufle, when the Latins were already in the city, he offered himself as their emperor to the soldiers and people: and his ambition, which might be virtuous, was undoubtedly brave. Could he have infused a soul into the multitude, they might have crushed the strangers under their feet: their abject despair refused his aid, and Theodore retired to breathe the air of freedom in Anatolia, beyond the immediate view and pursuit of the conquerors. Under the title, at first of despot, and afterwards of emperor, he drew to his standard the bolder spirits, who were fortified against slavery by the contempt of life; and as every means was lawful for the public safety, implored without scruple the alliance of the Turkish sultan. Nice, where

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Theodore
Lascaris,
emperor of
Nice,
A. D. 1204
—1222.

* See the fate of Mourzoufle, in Nicetas (p. 393), Villehardouin (No. 141—145. 163), and Guntherus (c. 20, 21).

† The dynasties of Nice, Trebizond, and Epirus (of which Nicetas saw the origin without much pleasure or hope), are learnedly explored, and clearly represented, in the *Familie Byzantinæ* of Ducange.

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The dukes
and em-
perors of
Trebizond.

The despots
of Epirus.

Theodore established his residence, Prusa and Philadelphia, Smyrna and Ephesus, opened their gates to their deliverer; he derived strength and reputation from his victories, and even from his defeats: and the successor of Constantine preserved a fragment of the empire from the banks of the Mæander to the suburbs of Nicomedia, and at length of Constantinople. Another portion, distant and obscure, was possessed by the lineal heir of the Comneni, a son of the virtuous Manuel, a grandson of the tyrant Andronicus. His name was Alexius; and the epithet of great was applied perhaps to his stature, rather than to his exploits. By the indulgence of the Angeli, he was appointed governor or duke of Trebizond; his birth gave him ambition, the revolution independence; and without changing his title, he reigned in peace from Sinope to the Phasis, along the coast of the Black Sea. His nameless son and successor is described as the vassal of the sultan, whom he served with two hundred lances; that Comnenian prince was no more than duke of Trebizond, and the title of Emperor was first assumed by the pride and envy of the grandson of Alexius. In the West, a third fragment was saved from the common shipwreck by Michael, a bastard of the house of Angeli, who, before the revolution, had been known as a hostage, a soldier, and a rebel. His flight from the camp of the marquis Boniface secured his freedom; by his marriage with the governor's daughter, he commanded the important place of Durazzo, assumed the title of despot, and founded a strong and conspicuous principality in Epirus, Ætolia, and Thessaly, which have ever been peopled by a warlike race. The Greeks, who had offered their service to their new sovereigns, were excluded by the haughty Latins from all civil and military honours, as a nation born to tremble and obey. Their re-

sentment prompted them to show that they might have been useful friends, since they could be dangerous enemies ; their nerves were braced by adversity ; whatever was learned or holy, whatever was noble or valiant, rolled away into the independent states of Trebizond, Epirus, and Nice ; and a single patrician is marked by the ambiguous praise of attachment and loyalty to the Franks. The vulgar herd of the cities and the country would have gladly submitted to a mild and regular servitude ; and the transient disorders of war would have been obliterated by some years of industry and peace. But peace was banished, and industry was crushed, in the disorders of the feudal system. The *Roman* emperors of Constantinople, if they were endowed with abilities, were armed with power for the protection of their subjects : their laws were wise, and their administration was simple. The Latin throne was filled by a titular prince, the chief, and often the servant, of his licentious confederates : the fiefs of the empire, from a kingdom to a castle, were held and ruled by the sword of the barons : and their discord, poverty, and ignorance, extended their ramifications of tyranny to the most sequestered villages. The Greeks were oppressed by the double weight of the priest, who was invested with temporal power, and of the soldier, who was inflamed by fanatic hatred ; and the insuperable bar of religion and language for ever separated the stranger and the native. As long as the crusaders were united at Constantinople, the memory of their conquest, and the terror of their arms, imposed silence on the captive land ; their dispersion betrayed the smallness of their numbers and the defects of their discipline ; and some failures and mischances revealed the secret, that they were not invincible. As the fear of the Greeks abated, their hatred increased. They murmured ; they conspired ;

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The Bul-
garian war,
A. D. 1205.

and before a year of slavery had elapsed, they implored, or accepted, the succour of a Barbarian, whose power they had felt, and whose gratitude they trusted*.

The Latin conquerors had been saluted with a solemn and early embassy from John, or Joannice, or Calo-John, the revolted chief of the Bulgarians and Walachians. He deemed himself their brother, as the votary of the Roman pontiff, from whom he had received the regal title and a holy banner; and in the subversion of the Greek monarchy, he might aspire to the name of their friend and accomplice. But Calo-John was astonished to find, that the count of Flanders had assumed the pomp and pride of the successors of Constantine; and his ambassadors were dismissed with a haughty message, that the rebel must deserve a pardon, by touching with his forehead the footstool of the Imperial throne. His resentment would have exhaled in acts of violence and blood; his cooler policy watched the rising discontent of the Greeks; affected a tender concern for their sufferings; and promised, that their first struggles for freedom should be supported by his person and kingdom. The conspiracy was propagated by national hatred, the firmest band of association and secrecy: the Greeks were impatient to sheath their daggers in the breasts of the victorious strangers; but the execution was prudently delayed, till Henry, the emperor's brother, had transported the flower of his troops beyond the Hellespont. Most of the towns and villages of Thrace were true to the moment and the signal: and the Latins, without arms or suspicion, were slaughtered by the vile and merciless revenge of their slaves. From Demotica, the first scene of the massacre, the surviving vassals of the count of St.

* I here begin to use with freedom and confidence the eight books of the *Histoire de C. P. sous l'Empire des François*, which Ducange has given as a supplement to Villehardouin; and which, in a barbarous style, deserves the praise of an original and classic work.

Pol escaped to Adrianople ; but the French and Venetians, who occupied that city, were slain or expelled by the furious multitude ; the garrisons that could effect their retreat fell back on each other towards the metropolis ; and the fortresses, that separately stood against the rebels, were ignorant of each other's and of their sovereign's fate. The voice of fame and fear announced the revolt of the Greeks and the rapid approach of their Bulgarian ally ; and Calo-John, not depending on the forces of his own kingdom, had drawn from the Scythian wilderness a body of fourteen thousand Comans, who drank, as it was said, the blood of their captives, and sacrificed the Christians on the altars of their gods*.

Alarmed by this sudden and growing danger, the emperor despatched a swift messenger to recall count Henry and his troops ; and had Baldwin expected the return of his gallant brother, with a supply of twenty thousand Armenians, he might have encountered the invader with equal numbers and a decisive superiority of arms and discipline. But the spirit of chivalry could seldom discriminate caution from cowardice ; and the emperor took the field with a hundred and forty knights, and their train of archers and serjeants. The marshal, who dissuaded and obeyed, led the vanguard in their march to Adrianople ; the main body was commanded by the count of Blois ; the aged doge of Venice followed with the rear ; and their scanty numbers were increased from all sides by the fugitive Latins. They undertook to besiege the rebels of Adrianople. But the Latins were soon interrupted and alarmed by the light cavalry of the Comans, who boldly skirmished to the edge of their imperfect lines : and a proclamation was issued by the

* The Comans were a Tartar or Turkman horde, which encamped in the xiiith and xiiiith centuries on the verge of Moldavia. The greater part were pagans, but some were Mahometans, and the whole horde was converted to Christianity (A.D. 1370) by Lewis king of Hungary.

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Defeat and
captivity of
Baldwin,
A.D. 1205,
April 15.

marshal of Romania, that, on the trumpet's sound, the cavalry should mount and form ; but that none, under pain of death, should abandon themselves to a desultory and dangerous pursuit. This wise injunction was first disobeyed by the count of Blois, who involved the emperor in his rashness and ruin. The Comans, of the Parthian or Tartar school, fled before their first charge ; but after a career of two leagues, when the knights and their horses were almost breathless, they suddenly turned, rallied, and encompassed the heavy squadrons of the Franks. The count was slain on the field ; the emperor was made prisoner ; and if the one disdained to fly, if the other refused to yield, their personal bravery made a poor atonement for their ignorance, or neglect, of the duties of a general.

Retreat of
the Latins.

Proud of his victory and his royal prize, the Bulgarian advanced to relieve Adrianople and achieve the destruction of the Latins. They must inevitably have been destroyed, if the marshal of Romania had not displayed a cool courage and consummate skill : uncommon in all ages, but most uncommon in those times, when war was a passion, rather than a science. His grief and fears were poured into the firm and faithful bosom of the doge ; but in the camp he diffused an assurance of safety, which could only be realized by the general belief. All day he maintained his perilous station between the city and the Barbarians : Villehardouin decamped in silence, at the dead of night ; and his masterly retreat of three days would have deserved the praise of Xenophon and the ten thousand. In the rear the marshal supported the weight of the pursuit ; in the front he moderated the impatience of the fugitives ; and wherever the Comans approached, they were repelled by a line of impenetrable spears. On the third day, the weary troops beheld the sea, the solitary town of Rodosto,

and their friends, who had landed from the Asiatic shore. They embraced, they wept; but they united their arms and councils; and, in his brother's absence, count Henry assumed the regency of the empire, at once in a state of childhood and caducity*. If the Comans withdrew from the summer heats, seven thousand Latins, in the hour of danger, deserted Constantinople, their brethren, and their vows. Some partial success was overbalanced by the loss of one hundred and twenty knights in the field of Rusium; and of the Imperial domain, no more was left than the capital, with two or three adjacent fortresses on the shores of Europe and Asia. The king of Bulgaria was resistless and inexorable; and Calo-John respectfully eluded the demands of the Pope, who conjured his new proselyte to restore peace and the emperor to the afflicted Latins. The deliverance of Baldwin was no longer, he said, in the power of man: that prince died in prison; and the manner of his death is variously related by ignorance and credulity. The lovers of a tragic legend will be pleased to hear, that the royal captive was tempted by the amorous queen of the Bulgarians; that his chaste refusal exposed him to the falsehood of a woman and the jealousy of a savage; that his hands and feet were severed from his body; that his bleeding trunk was cast among the carcasses of dogs and horses; and that he breathed three days before he was devoured by the birds of prey. About twenty years afterwards, in a wood of the Netherlands, a hermit announced himself as the true Baldwin, the emperor of Constantinople, and lawful sovereign of Flanders. He related the wonders of his escape, his adventures, and his penance, among a people prone to believe and to

Death of the
emperor.

* The reign and end of Baldwin are related by Villehardouin and Nicetas (p. 396—416): and their omissions are supplied by Ducange in his observations, and to the end of his first book.

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rebel ; and, in the first transport, Flanders acknowledged her long-lost sovereign. A short examination before the French court detected the impostor, who was punished with an ignominious death : but the Flemings still adhered to the pleasing error ; and the countess Jane is accused by the gravest historians of sacrificing to her ambition the life of an unfortunate father.

Reign and
character of
Henry,
A.D. 1206,
Aug. 20—
A.D. 1216,
June 11.

In all civilized hostility, a treaty is established for the exchange or ransom of prisoners ; and if their captivity be prolonged, their condition is known, and they are treated according to their rank with humanity or honour. But the savage Bulgarian was a stranger to the laws of war ; his prisons were involved in darkness and silence ; and above a year elapsed before the Latins could be assured of the death of Baldwin, before his brother, the regent Henry, would consent to assume the title of emperor. His moderation was applauded by the Greeks as an act of rare and inimitable virtue. Their light and perfidious ambition was eager to seize or anticipate the moment of a vacancy, while a law of succession, the guardian both of the prince and people, was gradually defined and confirmed in the hereditary monarchies of Europe. In the support of the Eastern empire, Henry was gradually left without an associate, as the heroes of the crusade retired from the world or from the war. The doge of Venice, the venerable Dandolo, in the fulness of years and glory, sunk into the grave. The marquis of Montferrat was slowly recalled from the Peloponnesian war to the revenge of Baldwin and the defence of Thessalonica. Some nice disputes of feudal homage and service were reconciled in a personal interview between the emperor and the king : they were firmly united by mutual esteem and the common danger ; and their alliance was sealed by the nuptial of Henry with the daughter of the Italian

prince. He soon deplored the loss of his friend and father. At the persuasion of some faithful Greeks, Boniface made a bold and successful inroad among the hills of Rhodope : the Bulgarians fled on his approach ; they assembled to harass his retreat. On the intelligence that his rear was attacked, without waiting for any defensive armour, he leaped on horseback, couched his lance, and drove the enemies before him ; but in the rash pursuit he was pierced with a mortal wound ; and the head of the king of Thessalonica was presented to Calo-John, who enjoyed the honours, without the merit, of victory. It is here, at this melancholy event, that the pen or the voice of Jeffrey of Villehardouin seems to drop or to expire* ; and if he still exercised his military office of marshal of Romania, his subsequent exploits are buried in oblivion. The character of Henry was not unequal to his arduous situation : in the siege of Constantinople, and beyond the Hellespont, he had deserved the fame of a valiant knight and a skilful commander ; and his courage was tempered with a degree of prudence and mildness unknown to his impetuous brother. In the double war against the Greeks of Asia and the Bulgarians of Europe, he was ever the foremost on shipboard or on horseback ; and though he cautiously provided for the success of his arms, the drooping Latins were often roused by his example to save and to second their fearless emperor. But such efforts, and some supplies of men and money from France, were of less avail than the errors, the cruelty, and death of their most formidable adversary. When the despair of the Greek subjects invited Calo-John as their deliverer, they hoped that he would protect their liberty and adopt their laws : they were soon taught to compare the degrees of national ferocity,

* Villehardouin, No 257. I quote, with regret, this lamentable conclusion, where we lose at once the original history, and the rich illustrations of Ducange. The last pages may derive some light from Henry's two epistles to Innocent III. (*Gesta*, c. 106, 107).

and to execrate the savage conqueror, who no longer dissembled his intention of dispeopling Thrace, of demolishing the cities, and of transplanting the inhabitants beyond the Danube. Many towns and villages of Thrace were already evacuated; a heap of ruins marked the place of Philippópolis, and a similar calamity was expected at Demotica and Adrianople, by the first authors of the revolt. They raised a cry of grief and repentance to the throne of Henry; the emperor alone had the magnanimity to forgive and trust them. No more than four hundred knights, with their serjeants and archers, could be assembled under his banner; and with this slender force he fought and repulsed the Bulgarian, who, besides his infantry, was at the head of forty thousand horse. In this expedition, Henry felt the difference between a hostile and a friendly country; the remaining cities were preserved by his arms; and the savage, with shame and loss, was compelled to relinquish his prey. The siege of Thessalonica was the last of the evils which Calo-John inflicted or suffered: he was stabbed in the night in his tent; and the general, perhaps the assassin, who found him weltering in his blood, ascribed the blow with general applause to the lance of St. Demetrius. After several victories, the prudence of Henry concluded an honourable peace with the successor of the tyrant, and with the Greek princes of Nice and Epirus. If he ceded some doubtful limits, an ample kingdom was reserved for himself and his feudatories; and his reign, which lasted only ten years, afforded a short interval of prosperity and peace. Far above the narrow policy of Baldwin and Boniface, he freely intrusted to the Greeks the most important offices of the state and army: and his liberality of sentiment and practice was the more seasonable, as the princes of Nice and Epirus had already learned to seduce and employ the mercenary valour of the Latins. It was the aim of Henry to unite and

reward his deserving subjects of every nation and language; but he appeared less solicitous to accomplish the impracticable union of the two churches. Pelagius, the pope's legate, who acted as the sovereign of Constantinople, had interdicted the worship of the Greeks, and sternly imposed a blind obedience to the Roman pontiff. As the weaker party, they pleaded the duties of conscience, and implored the rights of toleration: "Our bodies," they said, "are Cæsar's, but our souls belong only to God." The persecution was checked by the firmness of the emperor; and if we can believe that the same prince was poisoned by the Greeks themselves, we must entertain a contemptible idea of the sense and gratitude of mankind. His valour was a vulgar attribute, which he shared with ten thousand knights; but Henry possessed the superior courage to oppose, in a superstitious age, the pride and avarice of the clergy. In the cathedral of St. Sophia he presumed to place his throne on the right hand of the patriarch; and this presumption excited the sharpest censure of pope Innocent the third. By a salutary edict, one of the first examples of the laws of mortmain, he prohibited the alienation of fiefs*.

The virtuous Henry died at Thessalonica, in the defence of that kingdom, and of an infant, the son of his friend Boniface. In the two first emperors of Constantinople, the male line of the counts of Flanders was extinct. But their sister Yolande was the wife of a French prince, the mother of a numerous progeny; and one of her daughters had married Andrew king of Hungary, a brave and pious champion of the cross. By seating him on the Byzantine throne, the barons of Romania would have acquired the forces of a neighbouring and warlike kingdom; but the pru-

Peter of
Courtenay,
emperor of
Constantinople,
A.D. 1217,
April 9.

* See the reign of HENRY, in Ducange (*Hist. de C. P. l. i. c. 35—41. l. ii. c. 1—22*), who is much indebted to the *Epistles of the Popes*.

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dent Andrew revered the laws of succession ; and the princess Yolande, with her husband Peter of Courtenay, count of Auxerre, was invited by the Latins to assume the empire of the East. The royal birth of his father, the noble origin of his mother, recommended to the barons of France the first cousin of their king. His reputation was fair, his possessions were ample, and, in the bloody crusade against the Albigeois, the soldiers had been abundantly satisfied of his valour. Vanity might applaud the elevation of a French emperor of Constantinople ; but prudence must pity, rather than envy, his treacherous and imaginary greatness. To assert and adorn his title, he was reduced to sell or mortgage the best of his patrimony. By these expedients, the liberality of his royal kinsman Philip Augustus, and the national spirit of chivalry, he was enabled to pass the Alps at the head of one hundred and forty knights, and five thousand five hundred serjeants and archers. After some hesitation, pope Honorius the third was persuaded to crown the successor of Constantine : but he performed the ceremony in a church without the walls, lest he should seem to imply or to bestow any right of sovereignty over the ancient capital of the empire. The Venetians had engaged to transport Peter and his forces beyond the Adriatic, and the empress, with her four children, to the Byzantine palace ; but they required, as the price of their service, that he should recover Durazzo from the despot of Epirus. Michael Angelus, or Comnenus, the first of his dynasty, had bequeathed the succession of his power and ambition to Theodore, his legitimate brother, who already threatened and invaded the establishments of the Latins. After discharging his debt by a fruitless assault, the emperor raised the siege to prosecute a long and perilous journey over land from Durazzo to Thessalonica. He was soon lost in the

mountains of Epirus : the passes were fortified ; his provisions exhausted : he was delayed and deceived by a treacherous negotiation ; and, after Peter of Courtenay and the Roman legate had been arrested in a banquet, the French troops, without leaders or hopes, were eager to exchange their arms for the delusive promise of mercy and bread. The Vatican thundered ; and Theodore was threatened with the vengeance of earth and heaven ; but the captive emperor and his soldiers were forgotten, and the reproaches of the pope are confined to the imprisonment of his legate. No sooner was he satisfied by the deliverance of the priest, and a promise of spiritual obedience, than he pardoned and protected the despot of Epirus. His peremptory commands suspended the ardour of the Venetians and the king of Hungary ; and it was only by a natural or untimely death that Peter of Courtenay was released from his hopeless captivity*.

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His captivity and death,
A.D. 1217
—1219.

The long ignorance of his fate, and the presence of the lawful sovereign, of Yolande, his wife or widow, delayed the proclamation of a new emperor. Before her death, and in the midst of her grief, she was delivered of a son, who was named Baldwin, the last and most unfortunate of the Latin princes of Constantinople. His birth endeared him to the barons of Romania ; but his childhood would have prolonged the troubles of a minority, and his claims were superseded by the elder claims of his brethren. The first of these, Philip of Courtenay, who derived from his mother the inheritance of Namur, had the wisdom to prefer the substance of a marquissate to the shadow of an empire ; and on his refusal, Robert, the second of the sons of Peter and Yolande, was called to the throne of Constantinople. Warned by his father's mischance, he pursued his slow and secure journey

Robert
emperor of
Constantinople,
A.D. 1221
—1228.

* See the reign and death of Peter of Courtenay, in Ducange (*Hist. de C. P.* I. ii. c. 22—28).

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through Germany and along the Danube : a passage was opened by his sister's marriage with the king of Hungary ; and the emperor Robert was crowned by the patriarch in the cathedral of St. Sophia. But his reign was an æra of calamity and disgrace ; and the colony, as it was styled, of NEW FRANCE, yielded on all sides to the Greeks of Nice and Epirus. After a victory, which he owed to his perfidy rather than his courage, Theodore Angelus entered the kingdom of Thessalonica ; expelled the feeble Demeetrius, the son of the marquis Boniface ; erected his standard on the walls of Adrianople ; and added, by his vanity, a third or fourth name to the list of rival emperors. The relics of the Asiatic province were swept away by John Vataces, the son-in-law and successor of Theodore Lascaris, and who, in a triumphant reign of thirty-three years, displayed the virtues both of peace and war. Under his discipline the swords of the French mercenaries were the most effectual instrument of his conquests, and their desertion from the service of their country was at once a symptom and a cause of the rising ascendant of the Greeks. By the construction of a fleet, he obtained the command of the Hellespont, reduced the islands of Lesbos and Rhodes, attacked the Venetians of Candia, and intercepted the rare and parsimonious succours of the West. Once, and once only, the Latin emperor sent an army against Vataces ; and in the defeat of that army, the veteran knights, the last of the original conquerors, were left on the field of battle. But the success of a foreign enemy was less painful to the pusillanimous Robert than the insolence of his Latin subjects, who confounded the weakness of the emperor and of the empire. His personal misfortunes will prove the anarchy of the government and the ferociousness of the times. The amorous youth had neglected his Greek bride, the daughter of

Vataces, to introduce into the palace a beautiful maid, of a private, though noble, family of Artois ; and her mother had been tempted by the lustre of the purple to forfeit her engagements with a gentleman of Burgundy. His love was converted into rage ; he assembled his friends, forced the palace gates, threw the mother into the sea, and inhumanly cut off the nose and lips of the wife or concubine of the emperor. Instead of punishing the offender, the barons avowed and applauded the savage deed, which, as a prince and as a man, it was impossible that Baldwin should forgive. He escaped from the guilty city to implore the justice or compassion of the pope : the emperor was coolly exhorted to return to his station ; before he could obey, he sunk under the weight of grief, shame, and impotent resentment.

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It was only in the age of chivalry that valour could ascend from a private station to the thrones of Jerusalem and Constantinople. The titular kingdom of Jerusalem had devolved to Mary, the daughter of Isabella and Conrad of Montferrat, and the granddaughter of Almeric or Amaury. She was given to John of Brienne, of a noble family in Champagne, by the public voice, and the judgment of Philip Augustus, who named him as the most worthy champion of the Holy Land. In the fifth crusade, he led a hundred thousand Latins to the conquest of Egypt ; by him the siege of Damietta was achieved ; and the subsequent failure was justly ascribed to the pride and avarice of the legate. After the marriage of his daughter with Frederic the Second, he was provoked by the emperor's ingratitude to accept the command of the army of the church ; and though advanced in life, and despoiled of royalty, the sword and spirit of John of Brienne were still ready for the service of Christendom. In the seven years of his brother's

Baldwin II.
and John of
Brienne,
emperors of
Constantinople,
A. D. 1228
—1237.

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reign, Baldwin of Courtenay had not emerged from a state of childhood ; and the barons of Romania felt the strong necessity of placing the sceptre in the hands of a man and a hero. The veteran king of Jerusalem might have disdained the name and office of regent : they agreed to invest him for his life with the title and prerogatives of emperor, on the sole condition, that Baldwin should marry his second daughter, and succeed at a mature age to the throne of Constantinople. The expectation, both of the Greeks and Latins, was kindled by the renown, the choice, and the presence of John of Brienne ; and they admired his martial aspect, his green and vigorous age of more than fourscore years, and his size and stature, which surpassed the common measure of mankind. But avarice, and the love of ease, appeared to have chilled the ardour of enterprize : his troops were disbanded, and two years rolled away without action or honour, till he was awakened by the dangerous alliance of Vataces emperor of Nice, and of Azan king of Bulgaria. They besieged Constantinople by sea and land, with an army of one hundred thousand men, and a fleet of three hundred ships of war ; while the entire force of the Latin emperor was reduced to one hundred and sixty knights, and a small addition of serjeants and archers. I tremble to relate, that, instead of defending the city, the hero made a sally at the head of his cavalry ; and that, of forty-eight squadrons of the enemy, no more than three escaped from the edge of his invincible sword. Fired by his example, the infantry and the citizens boarded the vessels that anchored close to the walls ; and twenty-five were dragged in triumph into the harbour of Constantinople. At the summons of the emperor, the vassals and allies armed in her defence ; broke through every obstacle that opposed their pas-

sage ; and, in the succeeding year, obtained a second victory over the same enemies. By the rude poets of the age, John of Brienne is compared to Hector, Roland, and Judas Machabæus ; but their credit, and his glory, receives some abatement from the silence of the Greeks. The Empire was soon deprived of the last of her champions *.

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In the double victory of John of Brienne, I cannot discover the name or exploits of his pupil Baldwin, who had attained the age of military service, and who succeeded to the Imperial dignity on the decease of his adopted father †. The royal youth was employed on a commission more suitable to his temper : he was sent to visit the Western courts, of the pope more especially, and of the king of France ; to excite their pity by the view of his innocence and distress ; and to obtain some supplies of men or money for the relief of the sinking empire. He thrice repeated these mendicant visits, in which he seemed to prolong his stay, and postpone his return ; of the five-and-twenty years of his reign a greater number were spent abroad than at home ; and in no place did the emperor deem himself less free and secure than in his native country and his capital. On some public occasions, his vanity might be soothed by the title of Augustus, and by the honours of the purple ; and at the general council of Lyons, when Frederic the Second was excommunicated and deposed, his Oriental colleague was enthroned on the right hand of the pope. But how often was the exile, the vagrant, the Imperial beggar, humbled with scorn, insulted with pity, and degraded in his own eyes and those of the nations ! In his first visit to England he was stopped.

Baldwin II.
A. D. 1237,
March 23—
A. D. 1261,
July 25.

* See the reign of John de Brienne, in Ducange, *Hist. de C. P.* l. iii. c. 13—26.
† See the reign of Baldwin II. till his expulsion from Constantinople, in Ducange, *Hist. de C. P.* l. iv. c. 1—34 ; the end, l. v. c. 1—33.

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at Dover by a severe reprimand, that he should presume, without leave, to enter an independent kingdom. After some delay, Baldwin, however, was permitted to pursue his journey, was entertained with cold civility, and thankfully departed with a present of seven hundred marks *. From the avarice of Rome, he could only obtain the proclamation of a crusade, and a treasure of indulgences : a coin whose currency was depreciated by too frequent and indiscriminate abuse. His birth and misfortunes recommended him to the generosity of his cousin Louis the Ninth ; but the martial zeal of the saint was diverted from Constantinople to Egypt and Palestine ; and the public and private poverty of Baldwin was alleviated, for a moment, by the alienation of the marquise of Namur and the lordship of Courtenay, the last remains of his inheritance. By such shameful or ruinous expedients, he once more returned to Romania, with an army of thirty thousand soldiers, whose numbers were doubled in the apprehension of the Greeks. His first despatches to France and England announced his victories and his hopes : he had reduced the country round the capital to the distance of three days' journey ; and if he succeeded against an important, though nameless, city (most probably Chiorli), the frontier would be safe and the passage accessible. But these expectations (if Baldwin was sincere) quickly vanished like a dream ; the troops and treasures of France melted away in his unskilful hands ; and the throne of the Latin emperor was protected by a dishonourable alliance with the Turks and Comans. To secure the former, he consented to bestow his niece on the unbelieving sultan of Cogni : to please

* Matthew Paris relates the two visits of Baldwin II. to the English court, p. 396. 637 ; his return to Greece armatâ mand, p. 405 ; his letters of his women formidable, &c. p. 481 (a passage which had escaped Boscage) ; his expedition, p. 850.

the latter, he complied with their Pagan rites ; a dog was sacrificed between the two armies ; and the contracting parties tasted each other's blood, as a pledge of their fidelity. In the palace or prison of Constantinople the successor of Augustus demolished the vacant houses for winter fuel, and stripped the lead from the churches for the daily expense of his family. Some usurious loans were dealt with a scanty hand by the merchants of Italy ; and Philip, his son and heir, was pawned at Venice as the security for a debt. Thirst, hunger, and nakedness, are positive evils ; but wealth is relative ; and a prince, who would be rich in a private station, may be exposed by the increase of his wants to all the anxiety and bitterness of poverty.

The Latins of Constantinople * were on all sides encompassed and pressed : their sole hope, the last delay of their ruin, was in the division of their Greek and Bulgarian enemies ; and of this hope they were deprived by the superior arms and policy of Vataces, emperor of Nice. From the Propontis to the rocky coast of Pamphylia, Asia was peaceful and prosperous under his reign ; and the events of every campaign extended his influence in Europe. The strong cities of the hills of Macedonia and Thrace were rescued from the Bulgarians ; and their kingdom was circumscribed by its present and proper limits, along the southern banks of the Danube. The sole emperor of the Romans could no longer brook that a lord of Epirus, a Comnenian prince of the West, should presume to dispute or share the honours of the purple ;

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Progress of
the Greeks,
A. D. 1237
—1261.

* The gradual losses of the Latins may be traced in the third, fourth, and fifth books of the compilation of Ducange ; but of the Greek conquest he has dropped many circumstances, which may be recovered from the large history of George Aepopolita, and the three first books of Nicephorus Gregoras, two writers of the Byzantine series, who have had the good fortune to meet with learned editors, Leo Allatius at Rome, and John Boivin in the Academy of Inscriptions of Paris.

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Michael
Palæologus,
the Greek
emperor,
A.D. 1259,
Dec. 1.

and the humble Demetrius changed the colour of his buskins, and accepted with gratitude the appellation of despot. His own subjects were exasperated by his baseness and incapacity; they implored the protection of their supreme lord. After some resistance, the kingdom of Thessalonica was united to the empire of Nice; and Vataces reigned without a competitor from the Turkish borders to the Adriatic Gulf. The princes of Europe revered his merit and power; and had he subscribed an orthodox creed, it should seem that the pope would have abandoned without reluctance the Latin throne of Constantinople. But the death of Vataces, the short and busy reign of Theodore his son, and the helpless infancy of his grandson John, suspended the restoration of the Greeks. In the next chapter I shall explain their domestic revolutions; in this place it will be sufficient to observe, that the young prince was oppressed by the ambition of his guardian and colleague Michael Palæologus, who displayed the virtues and vices that belong to the founder of a new dynasty. The emperor Baldwin had flattered himself that he might recover some provinces or cities by an important negotiation. His ambassadors were dismissed from Nice with mockery and contempt. At every place which they named, Palæologus alleged some special reason, which rendered it dear and valuable in his eyes: in the one he was born; in another he had been first promoted to military command; and in a third he had enjoyed, and hoped long to enjoy, the pleasures of the chase. "And what then do you propose to give us?" said the astonished deputies. "Nothing," replied the Greek, "not a foot of land. If your master be desirous of peace, let him pay me as an annual tribute the sum which he receives from the trade and customs of Constantinople. On these terms I may

“allow him to reign. If he refuses, it is war. I am
 “not ignorant of the art of war, and I trust the event
 “to God and my sword *.” An expedition against
 the despot of Epirus was the first prelude of his arms.
 If a victory was followed by a defeat; if the race of
 the Comneni or Angeli survived in those mountains
 his efforts and his reign; the captivity of Ville-
 hardouin, prince of Achaia, deprived the Latins of
 the most active and powerful vassal of their expiring
 monarchy. The republics of Venice and Genoa dis-
 puted, in the first of their naval wars, the command
 of the sea and the commerce of the East. Pride and
 interest attached the Venetians to the defence of
 Constantinople: their rivals were tempted to pro-
 mote the designs of her enemies, and the alliance of
 the Genoëse with the schismatic conqueror provoked
 the indignation of the Latin church.

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Intent on this great object, the emperor Michael
 visited in person and strengthened the troops and
 fortifications in Thrace. The remains of the Latins
 were driven from their last possessions: he assaulted
 without success the suburb of Galata; and corre-
 sponded with a perfidious baron, who proved unwill-
 ing, or unable, to open the gates of the metropolis.
 The next spring, his favourite general Alexius Stra-
 tegopulus, whom he had decorated with the title of
 Cæsar, passed the Hellespont with eight hundred
 horse and some infantry, on a secret expedition. His
 instructions enjoined him to approach, to listen, to
 watch, but not to risk any doubtful or dangerous en-
 terprise against the city. The adjacent territory be-
 tween the Propontis and the Black Sea was cultivated
 by a hardy race of peasants and outlaws, exercised in
 arms, uncertain in their allegiance, but inclined, by

Constantinople re-
covered by
the Greeks,
A. D. 1261,
July 25.

* George Acropolita, c. 78. p. 89, 90. edit. Paris.

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language, religion, and present advantage, to the party of the Greeks. They were styled the *volunteers*; and, by their free service, the army of Alexius, with the regulars of Thrace and the Coman auxiliaries, was augmented to the number of five-and-twenty thousand men. By the ardour of the volunteers, and by his own ambition, the Cæsar was stimulated to disobey the precise orders of his master, in the just confidence that success would plead his pardon and reward. The weakness of Constantinople, and the distress and terror of the Latins, were familiar to the observation of the volunteers; and they represented the present moment as the most propitious to surprise and conquest. A rash youth, the new governor of the Venetian colony, had sailed away with thirty galleys, and the best of the French knights, on a wild expedition to Daphnusia, a town on the Black Sea, at the distance of forty leagues; and the remaining Latins were without strength or suspicion. They were informed that Alexius had passed the Hellespont; but their apprehensions were lulled by the smallness of his original numbers; and their imprudence had not watched the subsequent increase of his army. If he left his main body to second and support his operations, he might advance unperceived in the night with a chosen detachment. While some applied scaling ladders to the lowest part of the walls, they were secure of an old Greek, who would introduce their companions through a subterraneous passage into his house; they could soon on the inside break an entrance through the golden gate, which had been long obstructed; and the conqueror would be in the heart of the city, before the Latins were conscious of their danger. After some debate the Cæsar resigned himself to the faith of the volunteers; they were trusty, bold, and successful; and, in de-

scribing the plan, I have already related the execution and success*. But no sooner had Alexius passed the threshold of the golden gate, than he trembled at his own rashness ; he paused, he deliberated ; till the desperate volunteers urged him forward, by the assurance that in retreat lay the greatest and most inevitable danger. Whilst the Cæsar kept his regulars in firm array, the Comans dispersed themselves on all sides ; an alarm was sounded, and the threats of fire and pillage compelled the citizens to a decisive resolution. The Greeks of Constantinople remembered their native sovereigns ; the Genoese merchants their recent alliance and Venetian foes ; every quarter was in arms ; and the air resounded with a general acclamation of “ Long life and victory to Michael and “ John, the august emperors of the Romans !” Their rival, Baldwin, was awakened by the sound ; but the most pressing danger could not prompt him to draw his sword in the defence of a city which he deserted, perhaps, with more pleasure than regret : he fled from the palace to the sea-shore, where he descried the welcome sails of the fleet returning from the vain and fruitless attempt on Daphnusia. Constantinople was irrecoverably lost ; but the Latin emperor and the principal families embarked on board the Venetian galleys, and steered for the isle of Eubœa, and afterward for Italy, where the royal fugitive was entertained by the pope and Sicilian king with a mixture of contempt and pity. From the loss of Constantinople to his death he consumed thirteen years, soliciting the Catholic powers to join in his restoration : the lesson had been familiar to his youth ; nor was his last exile more indigent or shameful than his

* The loss of Constantinople is briefly told by the Latins : the conquest is described with more satisfaction by the Greeks ; by Acropolita (c. 85), Pachymer (l. ii. c. 26, 27), Nicephorus Gregoras (l. iv. c. 1, 2). See Ducange, *Hist. de C. P.* l. v. c. 19—27.

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three former pilgrimages to the courts of Europe. His son Philip was the heir of an ideal empire ; and the pretensions of *his* daughter Catharine were transported by her marriage to Charles of Valois, the brother of Philip the Fair, king of France. The house of Courtenay was represented in the female line by successive alliances, till the title of emperor of Constantinople, too bulky and sonorous for a private name, modestly expired in silence and oblivion.

CHAP. XLVII.

The Greek Emperors of Nice and Constantinople.—Elevation and Reign of Michael Palæologus.—Hostile Designs of Charles of Anjou.—Revolt of Sicily.—War of the Catalans in Asia and Greece.—Revolutions and present State of Athens.—Civil Wars, and Ruin of the Greek Empire — Reigns of Andronicus, the Elder and Younger, and John Palæologus.—Regency, Revolt, Reign, and Abdication of John Cantacuzene.—Establishment of a Genoese Colony at Perà or Galata.—Their Wars with the Empire and City of Constantinople.

THE loss of Constantinople restored a momentary vigour to the Greeks. From their palaces the princes and nobles were driven into the field; and the fragments of the falling monarchy were grasped by the hands of the most vigorous or the most skilful candidates. In the long and barren pages of the Byzantine annals*, it would not be an easy task to equal the two characters of Theodore Lascaris and John Ducas Vatases, who replanted and upheld the Roman standard at Nice in Bithynia. The difference of their virtues was happily suited to the diversity of their situation. In his first efforts, the fugitive Lascaris commanded only three cities and two thousand soldiers: his reign was the season of generous and active despair: in every military operation he staked his life and crown; and his enemies, of the Hellespont and the Mæander, were surprised by his celerity and sub-

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Restoration
of the
Greek em-
pire.

Theodore
Lascaris,
A. D. 1204
—1222.

* For the reigns of the Nicene emperors, more especially of John Vatases and his son, their minister, George Acropolita, is the only genuine contemporary; but George Pachymer returned to Constantinople with the Greeks at the age of nineteen (Hunckius, de Script. Byzant. c. 33, 34. p. 564—578. Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 428—460). Yet the history of Nicephorus Gregoras, though of the fourteenth century, is a valuable narrative from the taking of Constantinople by the Latins.

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John Ducas
Vataces,
A. D. 1222
—1255,
Oct. 30.

duced by his boldness. A victorious reign of eighteen years expanded the principality of Nice to the magnitude of an empire. The throne of his successor and son-in-law Vataces was founded on a more solid basis, a larger scope, and more plentiful resources; and it was the temper, as well as the interest, of Vataces, to calculate the risk, to expect the moment, and to ensure the success, of his ambitious designs. In the decline of the Latins, I have briefly exposed the progress of the Greeks; the prudent and gradual advances of a conqueror, who, in a reign of thirty-three years, rescued the provinces from national and foreign usurpers, till he pressed on all sides the Imperial city, a leafless and sapless trunk, which must fall at the first stroke of the axe. But his interior and peaceful administration is still more deserving of notice and praise. The calamities of the times had wasted the numbers and the substance of the Greeks: the motives and the means of agriculture were extirpated; and the most fertile lands were left without cultivation or inhabitants. A portion of this vacant property was occupied and improved by the command, and for the benefit, of the emperor: a powerful hand and a vigilant eye supplied and surpassed, by a skilful management, the minute diligence of a private farmer: the royal domain became the garden and granary of Asia; and, without impoverishing the people, the sovereign acquired a fund of innocent and productive wealth. According to the nature of the soil, his lands were sown with corn or planted with vines: the pastures were filled with horses and oxen, with sheep and hogs; and when Vataces presented to the empress a crown of diamonds and pearls, he informed her with a smile, that this precious ornament arose from the sale of the eggs of his innumerable poultry. The produce of his domain was applied to the maintenance of his palace and hospitals, the calls of dig-

nity and benevolence : the lesson was still more useful than the revenue : the plough was restored to its ancient security and honour ; and the nobles were taught to seek a sure and independent revenue from their estates, instead of adorning their splendid beggary by the oppression of the people, or (what is almost the same) by the favours of the court. The superfluous stock of corn and cattle was eagerly purchased by the Turks, with whom Vataces preserved a strict and sincere alliance ; but he discouraged the importation of foreign manufactures, the costly silks of the East, and the curious labours of the Italian looms. “ The demands of nature and necessity,” was he accustomed to say, “ are indispensable ; but “ the influence of fashion may rise and sink, at the “ breath of a monarch ;” and both his precept and example recommended simplicity of manners and the use of domestic industry. The education of youth and the revival of learning were the most serious objects of his care. His first wife was Irene, the daughter of Theodore Lascaris, a woman more illustrious by her personal merit, and the milder virtues of her sex, than by the blood of the Angeli and Comneni, that flowed in her veins, and transmitted the inheritance of the empire. In the review of his faults, and the more intemperate passions of Lascaris, the judgment of their contemporaries was softened by gratitude to the second founders of the empire. The slaves of the Latins, without law or peace, applauded the happiness of their brethren who had resumed their national freedom ; and Vataces employed the laudable policy of convincing the Greeks of every dominion that it was their interest to be enrolled in the number of his subjects.

A strong shade of degeneracy is visible between John Vataces and his son Theodore ; between the founder who sustained the weight, and the heir who

Theodore
Lascaris II.
A. D. 1255,
Oct. 30—
A. D. 1259,
August.

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enjoyed the splendour, of the Imperial crown. Yet the character of Theodore was not devoid of energy; he had been educated in the school of his father, in the exercise of war and hunting: Constantinople was yet spared; but in the three years of a short reign, he thrice led his armies into the heart of Bulgaria. His virtues were sullied by a choleric and suspicious temper: the first of these may be ascribed to the ignorance of control; and the second might naturally arise from a dark and imperfect view of the corruption of mankind. On a march in Bulgaria, he consulted on a question of policy his principal ministers; and the Greek logothete, George Acropolita, presumed to offend him by the declaration of a free and honest opinion. The emperor half-unsheathed his scimitar; but his more deliberate rage reserved Acropolita for a baser punishment. One of the first officers of the empire was ordered to dismount, stripped of his robes, and extended on the ground in the presence of the prince and army. In this posture he was chastised with so many and such heavy blows from the clubs of two guards or executioners, that when Theodore commanded them to cease, the great logothete was scarcely able to rise and crawl away to his tent. After a seclusion of some days, he was recalled by a peremptory mandate to his seat in council; and so dead were the Greeks to the sense of honour and shame, that it is from the narrative of the sufferer himself that we acquire the knowledge of his disgrace. The cruelty of the emperor was exasperated by the pangs of sickness, the approach of a premature end, and the suspicion of poison. The lives and fortunes, the eyes and limbs, of his kinsmen and nobles, were sacrificed to each sally of passion; and before he died, the son of Vataces might deserve from the people, or at least from the court, the appellation of tyrant. A matron of

the family of the Palæologi had provoked his anger by refusing to bestow her beauteous daughter on the vile plebeian who was recommended by his caprice. Without regard to her birth or age, her body, as high as the neck, was inclosed in a sack, with several cats, who were pricked with pins to irritate their fury against their unfortunate fellow-captive. In his last hours, the emperor testified a wish to forgive and be forgiven, a just anxiety for the fate of John his son and successor, who, at the age of eight years, was condemned to the dangers of a long minority. His last choice intrusted the office of guardian to the sanctity of the patriarch Arsenius, and to the courage of George Muzalon, the great domestic, who was equally distinguished by the royal favour and the public hatred. Since their connexion with the Latins, the names and privileges of hereditary rank had insinuated themselves into the Greek monarchy; and the noble families were provoked by the elevation of a worthless favourite, to whose influence they imputed the errors and calamities of the late reign. In the first council, after the emperor's death, Muzalon, from a lofty throne, pronounced a laboured apology of his conduct and intentions: his modesty was subdued by an unanimous assurance of esteem and fidelity; and his most inveterate enemies were the loudest to salute him as the guardian and saviour of the Romans. Eight days were sufficient to prepare the execution of the conspiracy. On the ninth, the obsequies of the deceased monarch were solemnized in the cathedral of Magnesia, an Asiatic city, where he expired, on the banks of the Hermus, and at the foot of mount Sipylus. The holy rites were interrupted by a sedition of the guards; Muzalon, his brothers, and his adherents, were massacred at the foot of the altar; and the absent patriarch was associated with a new colleague, with Michael Palæologus, the

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Minority of
John Las-
caris, A. D.
1259, Au-
gust.

CHAP. XLVII. most illustrious, in birth and merit, of the Greek nobles.

Family and
character of
Michael
Palæologus.

Of those who are proud of their ancestors, the far greater part must be content with local or domestic renown; and few there are who dare trust the memorials of their family to the public annals of their country. As early as the middle of the eleventh century, the noble race of the Palæologi * stands high and conspicuous in the Byzantine history: it was the valiant George Palæologus who placed the father of the Comneni on the throne; and his kinsmen or descendants continued, in each generation, to lead the armies and councils of the state. The purple was not dishonoured by their alliance; and had the law of succession, and female succession, been strictly observed, the wife of Theodore Lascaris must have yielded to her elder sister, the mother of Michael Palæologus, who afterwards raised his family to the throne. In his person, the splendour of birth was dignified by the merit of the soldier and statesman: in his early youth he was promoted to the office of *constable* or commander of the French mercenaries; the private expense of a day never exceeded three pieces of gold; but his ambition was rapacious and profuse; and his gifts were doubled by the graces of his conversation and manners. The love of the soldiers and people excited the jealousy of the court; and Michael thrice escaped from the dangers in which he was involved by his own imprudence or that of his friends. I. Under the reign of Justice and Vataces, a dispute arose between two officers, one of whom accused the other of maintaining the hereditary right of the Palæologi. The cause was decided, according

* The pedigree of Palæologus is explained by Ducange (*Famil. Byzant.* p. 230, &c.): the events of his private life are related by Pachymer (*l. i. c. 7—12.*) and Gregoras (*l. ii. 8. l. iii. 2. 4. l. iv. 1.*) with visible favour to the father of the reigning dynasty.

to the new jurisprudence of the Latins, by single combat: the defendant was overthrown; but he persisted in declaring that himself alone was guilty; and that he had uttered these rash or treasonable speeches without the approbation or knowledge of his patron. II. In the succeeding reign, as he held the government of Nice, he was secretly informed, that the mind of the absent prince was poisoned with jealousy; and that death, or blindness, would be his final reward. Instead of awaiting the return and sentence of Theodore, the constable, with some followers, escaped from the city and the empire; and though he was plundered by the Turkmans of the desert, he found a hospitable refuge in the court of the sultan. In the ambiguous state of an exile, Michael reconciled the duties of gratitude and loyalty: drawing his sword against the Tartars; admonishing the garrisons of the Roman limit; and promoting, by his influence, the restoration of peace, in which his pardon and recall were honourably included. III. While he guarded the West against the despot of Epirus, Michael was again suspected and condemned in the palace; and such was his loyalty or weakness, that he submitted to be led in chains above six hundred miles from Durazzo to Nice. The civility of the messenger alleviated his disgrace; the emperor's sickness dispelled his danger; and the last breath of Theodore, which recommended his infant son, at once acknowledged the innocence and the power of Palæologus.

But his innocence had been too unworthily treated, and his power was too strongly felt, to curb an aspiring subject in the fair field that was opened to his ambition*. In the council after the death of Theo-

His elevation to the throne.

* Without comparing Pachymer to Thucydides or Tacitus, I will praise his narrative (l. i. c. 13—32. l. ii. c. 1—9), which pursues the ascent of Palæologus with eloquence, perspicuity, and tolerable freedom. Acropolita is more cautious, and Gregoras more concise.

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dore, he was the first to pronounce, and the first to violate, the oath of allegiance to Muzalon ; and so dexterous was his conduct, that he reaped the benefit, without incurring the guilt, or at least the reproach, of the subsequent massacre. In the choice of a regent, he balanced the interests and passions of the candidates ; turned their envy and hatred from himself against each other, and forced every competitor to own, that after his own claims, those of Palæologus were best entitled to the preference. Under the title of great duke, he accepted or assumed, during a long minority, the active powers of government ; the patriarch was a venerable name ; and the factious nobles were seduced, or oppressed, by the ascendant of his genius. The fruits of the economy of Vataces were deposited in a strong castle on the banks of the Hermus, in the custody of the faithful Varangians : the constable retained his command or influence over the foreign troops ; he employed the guards to possess the treasure, and the treasure to corrupt the guards ; and whatsoever might be the abuse of the public money, his character was above the suspicion of private avarice. By himself, or by his emissaries, he strove to persuade every rank of subjects, that their own prosperity would rise in just proportion to the establishment of his authority. The weight of taxes was suspended, the perpetual theme of popular complaint ; and he prohibited the trials by the ordeal and judicial combat. These Barbaric institutions were already abolished or undermined in France and England ; and the appeal to the sword offended the sense of a civilized, and the temper of an unwarlike, people. For the future maintenance of their wives and children, the veterans were grateful : the priest and the philosopher applauded his ardent zeal for the advancement of religion and learning ; and his vague promise of rewarding merit

was applied by every candidate to his own hopes. Conscious of the influence of the clergy, Michael successfully laboured to secure the suffrage of that powerful order. Their expensive journey from Nice to Magnesia afforded a decent and ample pretence: the leading prelates were tempted by the liberality of his nocturnal visits; and the incorruptible patriarch was flattered by the homage of his new colleague, who led his mule by the bridle into the town, and removed to a respectful distance the importunity of the crowd. Without renouncing his title by royal descent, Palæologus encouraged a free discussion into the advantages of elective monarchy; and his adherents asked, with the insolence of triumph, what patient would trust his health, or what merchant would abandon his vessel, to the *hereditary* skill of a physician or a pilot? The youth of the emperor, and the impending dangers of a minority, required the support of a mature and experienced guardian; of an associate, raised above the envy of his equals, and invested with the name and prerogatives of royalty. For the interest of the prince and people, without any selfish views for himself or his family, the great duke consented to guard and instruct the son of Theodore; but he sighed for the happy moment when he might restore to his firmer hands the administration of his patrimony, and enjoy the blessings of a private station. He was first invested with the title and prerogatives of *despot*, which bestowed the purple ornaments, and the second place in the Roman monarchy. It was afterwards agreed that John and Michael should be proclaimed as joint-emperors, and raised on the buckler, but that the pre-eminence should be reserved for the birthright of the former. A mutual league of amity was pledged between the royal partners; and in case of a rupture, the subjects were bound, by their oath of allegiance, to declare

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Michael
Palæologus
emperor,
A. D. 1260,
Jan. 1.

Recovery of
Constantinople,
A. D. 1261,
July 25.

themselves against the aggressor ; an ambiguous name, the seed of discord and civil war. Palæologus was content ; but on the day of the coronation, and in the cathedral of Nice, his zealous adherents most vehemently urged the just priority of his age and merit. The unseasonable dispute was eluded by postponing to a more convenient opportunity the coronation of John Lascaris ; and he walked with a slight diadem in the train of his guardian, who alone received the Imperial crown from the hands of the patriarch. It was not without extreme reluctance that Arsenius abandoned the cause of his pupil ; but the Varangians brandished their battle-axes ; a sign of assent was extorted from the trembling youth ; and some voices were heard, that the life of a child should no longer impede the settlement of the nation. A full harvest of honours and employments was distributed among his friends by the grateful Palæologus. In his own family he created a despot and two sebastocrators ; Alexius Strategopulus was decorated with the title of Cæsar ; and that veteran commander soon repaid the obligation, by restoring Constantinople to the Greek emperor.

It was in the second year of his reign, while he resided in the palace and gardens of Nymphæum, near Smyrna, that the first messenger arrived at the dead of night ; and the stupendous intelligence was imparted to Michael, after he had been gently waked by the tender precaution of his sister Eulogia. The man was unknown or obscure ; he produced no letters from the victorious Cæsar ; nor could it easily be credited, after the defeat of Vataces, and the recent failure of Palæologus himself, that the capital had been surprised by a detachment of eight hundred soldiers. As a hostage, the doubtful author was confined, with the assurance of death or an ample recompense ; and the court was left some hours in

the anxiety of hope and fear, till the messengers of Alexius arrived with the authentic intelligence, and displayed the trophies of the conquest, the sword and sceptre, the buskins and bonnet, of the usurper Baldwin, which he had dropt in his precipitate flight. A general assembly of the bishops, senators, and nobles, was immediately convened, and never perhaps was an event received with more heartfelt and universal joy. In a studied oration, the new sovereign of Constantinople congratulated his own and the public fortune. "There was a time," said he, "a far distant time, when the Roman empire extended to the Adriatic, the Tigris, and the confines of Æthiopia. After the loss of the provinces, our capital itself, in these last and calamitous days, has been wrested from our hands by the Barbarians of the West. From the lowest ebb, the tide of prosperity has again returned in our favour; but our prosperity was that of fugitives and exiles; and when we were asked, which was the country of the Romans, we indicated with a blush the climate of the globe and the quarter of the heavens. The divine Providence has now restored to our arms the city of Constantine, the sacred seat of religion and empire; and it will depend on our valour and conduct to render this important acquisition the pledge and omen of future victories." So eager was the impatience of the prince and people, that Michael made his triumphal entry into Constantinople only twenty days after the expulsion of the Latins. The golden gate was thrown open at his approach: but after the first transport of devotion and pride, he sighed at the dreary prospect of solitude and ruin. The palace was defiled with smoke and dirt, and the gross intemperance of the Franks; whole streets had been consumed by fire, or were decayed by the injuries of time; the sacred and pro-

Return of
the Greek
emperor,
A. D. 1261,
Aug. 14.

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fane edifices were stripped of their ornaments; and, as if they were conscious of their approaching exile, the industry of the Latins had been confined to the work of pillage and destruction. Trade had expired under the pressure of anarchy and distress; and the numbers of inhabitants had decreased with the opulence of the city. It was the first care of the Greek monarch to reinstate the nobles in the palaces of their fathers; and the houses or the ground which they occupied were restored to the families that could exhibit a legal right of inheritance. But the far greater part was extinct or lost; the vacant property had devolved to the lord; he re-peopled Constantinople by a liberal invitation to the provinces; and the brave *volunteers* were seated in the capital which had been recovered by their arms. The French barons and the principal families had retired with their emperor; but the patient and humble crowd of Latins was attached to the country, and indifferent to the change of masters. Instead of banishing the factories of the Pisans, Venetians, and Genoese, the prudent conqueror accepted their oaths of allegiance, encouraged their industry, confirmed their privileges, and allowed them to live under the jurisdiction of their proper magistrates. Of these nations, the Pisans and Venetians preserved their respective quarters in the city; but the services and power of the Genoese deserved at the same time the gratitude and the jealousy of the Greeks. Their independent colony was first planted at the sea-port town of Heraclea in Thrace. They were speedily recalled, and settled in the exclusive possession of the suburb of Galata, an advantageous post, in which they revived the commerce, and insulted the majesty, of the Byzantine empire*.

* See Pachymer (l. ii. c. 28—33), Acropolita (c. 88), Nicephorus Gregoras (l. iv. 7), and for the treatment of the subject Latins, Ducange (l. v. c. 30, 31).

The recovery of Constantinople was celebrated as the era of a new empire : the conqueror, alone, and by the right of the sword, renewed his coronation in the church of St. Sophia ; and the name and honours of John Lascaris, his pupil and lawful sovereign, were insensibly abolished. But his claims still lived in the minds of the people ; and the royal youth must speedily attain the years of manhood and ambition. By fear or conscience, Palæologus was restrained from dipping his hands in innocent and royal blood ; but the anxiety of an usurper and a parent urged him to secure his throne, by one of those imperfect crimes so familiar to the modern Greeks. The loss of sight incapacitated the young prince for the active business of the world : instead of the brutal violence of tearing out his eyes, the visual nerve was destroyed by the intense glare of a red-hot basin, and John Lascaris was removed to a distant castle, where he spent many years in privacy and oblivion. Such cool and deliberate guilt may seem incompatible with remorse ; but if Michael could trust the mercy of heaven, he was not inaccessible to the reproaches and vengeance of mankind, which he had provoked by cruelty and treason. His cruelty imposed on a servile court the duties of applause or silence ; but the clergy had a right to speak in the name of their invisible master ; and their holy legions were led by a prelate, whose character was above the temptations of hope or fear. After a short abdication of his dignity, Arsenius had consented to ascend the ecclesiastical throne of Constantinople, and to preside in the restoration of the church. His pious simplicity was long deceived by the arts of Palæologus ; and his patience and submission might sooth the usurper, and protect the safety of the young prince. On the news of his inhuman treatment, the patriarch unsheathed the spiritual sword in the cause

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Palæologus
blinds and
banishes the
young em-
peror, A. D.
1261, Dec.
25.

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Is excom-
municated
by the pa-
triarch Ar-
senius,
A. D. 1262
—1268.

of humanity and justice. In a synod of bishops, who were stimulated by the example of his zeal, the patriarch pronounced a sentence of excommunication ; though his prudence still repeated the name of Michael in the public prayers. The eastern prelates had not adopted the dangerous maxims of ancient Rome ; nor did they presume to enforce their censures, by deposing princes, or absolving nations from their oaths of allegiance. But the Christian, who had been separated from God and the church, became an object of horror ; and, in a turbulent and fanatic capital, that horror might arm the hand of an assassin, or inflame a sedition of the people. Palæologus felt his danger, confessed his guilt, and deprecated his judge : the act was irretrievable ; the prize was obtained ; and the most rigorous penance, which he solicited, would have raised the sinner to the reputation of a saint. The unrelenting patriarch refused to announce any means of atonement or any hopes of mercy ; and condescended only to pronounce, that, for so great a crime, great indeed must be the satisfaction. “ Do you require,” said Michael, “ that I should abdicate the empire ?” And at these words, he offered, or seemed to offer, the sword of state. Arsenius eagerly grasped this pledge of sovereignty : but when he perceived that the emperor was unwilling to purchase absolution at so dear a rate, he indignantly escaped to his cell, and left the royal sinner, kneeling and weeping before the door*.

Reign of
Michael
Palæologus,
A. D. 1259,
Dec. 1—
A. D. 1282,
Dec. 11.
Reign of
Andronicus
the Elder,

The establishment of his family was the motive, or at least the pretence, of the crime of Palæologus ; and he was impatient to confirm the succession, by sharing with his eldest son the honours of the purple. Andronicus, afterwards surnamed the Elder, was pro-

* The crime and excommunication of Michael are fairly told by Pachymer (l. iii. c. 10. 14. 19, &c.) and Gregoras (l. iv. c. 4). His confession and penance restored their freedom.

claimed and crowned emperor of the Romans, in the fifteenth year of his age ; and, from the first æra of a prolix and inglorious reign, he held that august title nine years as the colleague, and fifty as the successor, of his father. Michael himself, had he died in a private station, would have been thought more worthy of the empire : and the assaults of his temporal and spiritual enemies left him few moments to labour for his own fame or the happiness of his subjects. He wrested from the Franks several of the noblest islands of the Archipelago, Lesbos, Chios, and Rhodes : his brother Constantine was sent to command in Malvasia and Sparta ; and the eastern side of the Morea, from Argos and Napoli to Cape Tænarus, was repossessed by the Greeks. This effusion of Christian blood was loudly condemned by the patriarch ; and the insolent priest presumed to interpose his fears and scruples between the arms of princes. But in the prosecution of these western conquests, the countries beyond the Hellespont were left naked to the Turks ; and their depredations verified the prophecy of a dying senator, that the recovery of Constantinople would be the ruin of Asia. The victories of Michael were achieved by his lieutenant ; his sword rusted in the palace ; and in the transactions of the emperor with the popes and the king of Naples, his political arts were stained with cruelty and fraud *.

In the distress of the Latins, the walls and towers of Constantinople had fallen to decay : they were restored and fortified by the policy of Michael, who deposited a plenteous store of corn and salt provisions, to sustain the siege which he might hourly

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A. D. 1273,
Nov. 8—
A. D. 1332,
Feb. 13.

Charles of
Anjou sub-
dues Naples
and Sicily,
A. D. 1266,
Feb. 26.

* Of the thirteen books of Pachymer, the first six (as the 4th and 5th of Nicephorus Gregoras) contain the reign of Michael, at the time of whose death he was forty years of age. Instead of breaking, like his editor the Père Poussin, his history into two parts, I follow Ducange and Cousin, who number the thirteen books in one series.

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expect from the resentment of the Western powers. Of these, the sovereign of the two Sicilies was the most formidable neighbour ; but as long as they were possessed by Mainfroy, the bastard of Frederic the second, his monarchy was the bulwark rather than the annoyance of the Eastern empire. The usurper, though a brave and active prince, was sufficiently employed in the defence of his throne : his proscription by successive popes had separated Mainfroy from the common cause of the Latins ; and the forces that might have besieged Constantinople were detained in a crusade against the domestic enemy of Rome. The prize of her avenger, the crown of the two Sicilies, was won and worn by the brother of St. Louis, by Charles count of Anjou and Provence, who led the chivalry of France on this holy expedition *. The disaffection of his Christian subjects compelled Mainfroy to enlist a colony of Saracens whom his father had planted in Apulia : and this odious succour will explain the defiance of the Catholic hero, who rejected all terms of accommodation. " Bear this message," said Charles, " to the sultan " of Nocera, that God and the sword are umpire " between us." The armies met, and Mainfroy lost his friends, his kingdom, and his life, in the bloody battle of Benevento. Naples and Sicily were immediately peopled with a warlike race of French nobles ; and their aspiring leader embraced the future conquest of Africa, Greece, and Palestine. The most specious reasons might point his first arms against the Byzantine empire ; and Palæologus, diffident of his own strength, repeatedly appealed from the ambition

* The best accounts, the nearest the time, the most full and entertaining, of the conquest of Naples by Charles of Anjou, may be found in the Florentine Chronicles of Ricordano Malespina (c. 175—193) and Giovanni Villani (l. vii. c. 1—10. 25—30), which are published by Muratori in the 8th and 13th volumes of the historians of Italy. In his annals (tom. xi. p. 56—72), he has abridged these great events, which are likewise described in the *Istoria Civile* of Giannone, tom. ii. l. xix. tom. iii. l. xx.

of Charles to the humanity of St. Louis, who still preserved a just ascendant over the mind of his ferocious brother. For a while the attention of that brother was confined at home by the invasion of Conradin, the last heir of the Imperial house of Swabia : but the hapless boy sunk in the unequal conflict ; and his execution on a public scaffold taught the rivals of Charles to tremble for their heads as well as their dominions. A second respite was obtained by the last crusade of St. Louis to the African coast ; and the double motive of interest and duty urged the king of Naples to assist, with his powers and his presence, the holy enterprise. The death of St. Louis released him from the importunity of a virtuous censor ; the king of Tunis confessed himself the tributary and vassal of the crown of Sicily ; and the boldest of the French knights were free to enlist under his banner against the Greek empire. A treaty and a marriage united his interest with the house of Courtenay ; his daughter Beatrice was promised to Philip, son and heir of the emperor Baldwin ; a pension of six hundred ounces of gold was allowed for his maintenance ; and his generous father distributed among his allies the kingdoms and provinces of the East, reserving only Constantinople, and one day's journey round the city, for the Imperial domain *. In this perilous moment, Palæologus was the most eager to subscribe the creed and implore the protection of the Roman pontiff, who assumed, with propriety and weight, the character of an angel of peace, the common father of the Christians. By his voice, the sword of Charles was chained in the scabbard ; and the Greek ambassadors beheld him, in the pope's antechamber, biting his ivory sceptre in a transport

Threatens
the Greek
empire,
A. D. 1270,
&c.

* Ducange, *Hist. de C. P.* l. v. c. 49—56 ; l. vi. c. 1—13. See Pachymer, l. iv. c. 29 ; l. v. c. 7—10. 25 ; l. vi. c. 30. 32, 33, and Nicephorus Gregoras, l. iv. 5. l. v. 1. 6.

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of fury, and deeply resenting the refusal to enfranchise and consecrate his arms. He appears to have respected the disinterested mediation of Gregory the tenth; but Charles was insensibly disgusted by the pride and partiality of Nicholas the third; and his attachment to his kindred, the Ursini family, alienated the most strenuous champion from the service of the church. The hostile league against the Greeks, of Philip the Latin emperor, the king of the two Sicilies, and the republic of Venice, was ripened into execution; and the election of Martin the fourth, a French pope, gave a sanction to the cause. Of the alleys, Philip supplied his name, Martin, a bull of excommunication, the Venetians, a squadron of forty galleys; and the formidable powers of Charles consisted of forty counts, ten thousand men at arms, a numerous body of infantry, and a fleet of more than three hundred ships and transports. A distant day was appointed for assembling this mighty force in the harbour of Brindisi; and a previous attempt was risked with a detachment of three hundred knights, who invaded Albania, and besieged the fortress of Belgrade. Their defeat might amuse with a triumph the vanity of Constantinople; but the more sagacious Michael, despairing of his arms, depended on the effects of a conspiracy; on the secret workings of a rat, who gnawed the bow-string of the Sicilian tyrant.

Palæologus
instigates
the revolt
of Sicily,
A. D. 1280.

Among the proscribed adherents of the house of Swabia, John of Procida forfeited a small island of that name in the bay of Naples. His birth was noble, but his education was learned; and in the poverty of exile, he was relieved by the practice of physic, which he had studied in the school of Salerno. Fortune had left him nothing to lose, except life; and to despise life is the first qualification of a rebel. Procida was endowed with the art of negotiation, to

enforce his reasons, and disguise his motives ; and in his various transactions with nations and men, he could persuade each party that he laboured solely for *their* interest. The new kingdoms of Charles were afflicted by every species of fiscal and military oppression ; and the lives and fortunes of his Italian subjects were sacrificed to the greatness of their master and the licentiousness of his followers. The hatred of Naples was repressed by his presence ; but the looser government of his vicegerents excited the contempt, as well as the aversion, of the Sicilians : the island was roused to a sense of freedom by the eloquence of Procida ; and he displayed to every baron his private interest in the common cause. In the confidence of foreign aid, he successively visited the courts of the Greek emperor, and of Peter king of Arragon *, who possessed the maritime countries of Valentia and Catalonia. To the ambitious Peter a crown was presented, which he might justly claim by his marriage with the sister of Mainfroy, and by the dying voice of Conradin, who from the scaffold had cast a ring to his heir and avenger. Palæologus was easily persuaded to divert his enemy from a foreign war by a rebellion at home ; and a Greek subsidy of twenty-five thousand ounces of gold was most profitably applied to arm a Catalan fleet, which sailed under a holy banner to the specious attack of the Saracens of Africa. In the disguise of a monk or beggar, the indefatigable missionary of revolt flew from Constantinople to Rome, and from Sicily to Saragossa ; the treaty was sealed with the signet of pope Nicholas himself, the enemy of Charles ; and his deed of gift transferred the fiefs of St. Peter from the house of Anjou to that of Arragon. So widely diffused and

* See the character and counsels of Peter king of Arragon, in Mariana (Hist. Hispan. l. xiv. c. 6. tom. ii. p. 133). The reader forgives the Jesuit's defects, in favour, always of his style, and often of his sense.

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so freely circulated, the secret was preserved above two years with impenetrable discretion; and each of the conspirators imbibed the maxim of Peter, who declared that he would cut off his left hand if it were conscious of the intentions of his right. The mine was prepared with deep and dangerous artifice; but it may be questioned whether the instant explosion of Palermo were the effect of accident or design.

The Sicilian
Vespers,
A. D. 1282,
March 30.

On the vigil of Easter, a procession of the disarmed citizens visited a church without the walls; and a noble damsel was rudely insulted by a French soldier. The ravisher was instantly punished with death; and if the people at first was scattered by a military force, their numbers and fury prevailed. The conspirators seized the opportunity; the flame spread over the island; and eight thousand French were exterminated in a promiscuous massacre, which has obtained the name of the SICILIAN VESPERS. From every city the banners of freedom and the church were displayed: the revolt was inspired by the presence or the soul of Procida; and Peter of Arragon, who sailed from the African coast to Palermo, was saluted as the king and saviour of the isle. By the rebellion of a people on whom he had so long trampled with impunity, Charles was astonished and confounded; and in the first agony of grief and devotion, he was heard to exclaim, "O God! if thou hast decreed to humble me, grant me at least a gentle and gradual descent from the pinnacle of greatness!" His fleet and army, which already filled the sea-ports of Italy, were hastily recalled from the service of the Grecian war; and the situation of Messina exposed that town to the first storm of his revenge. Feeble in themselves, and yet hopeless of foreign succour, the citizens would have repented, and submitted on the assurance of full pardon and their ancient privileges. But the pride of the mon-

arch was already rekindled ; and the most fervent entreaties of the legate could extort no more than a promise, that he would forgive the remainder, after a chosen list of eight hundred rebels had been yielded to his discretion. The despair of the Messinese renewed their courage ; Peter of Arragon approached to their relief* ; and his rival was driven back by the failure of provision and the terrors of the equinox to the Calabrian shore. At the same moment, the Catalan admiral, the famous Roger de Loria, swept the channel with an invincible squadron : the French fleet, more numerous in transports than in galleys, was either burnt or destroyed ; and the same blow assured the independence of Sicily and the safety of the Greek empire. A few days before his death, the emperor Michael rejoiced in the fall of an enemy whom he hated and esteemed ; and perhaps he might be content with the popular judgment, that had they not been matched with each other, Constantinople and Italy must speedily have obeyed the same master. From this disastrous moment, the life of Charles was a series of misfortunes ; his capital was insulted, his son was made prisoner, and he sunk into the grave without recovering the isle of Sicily, which, after a war of twenty years, was finally severed from the throne of Naples, and transferred, as an independent kingdom, to a younger branch of the house of Arragon †.

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Defeat of
Charles,
Oct. 2.

After the peace of Sicily, many thousands of Genoese, *Catalans*, &c. who had fought, by sea and land, under the standard of Anjou or Arragon, were blended into one nation by the resemblance of their manners and interest. They heard that the Greek

The Catalans in
Greece,
A. D. 1303
—1307.

* This revolt, with the subsequent victory, are related by two national writers. Bartholemy à Neocastro (in Muratori, tom. xiii.) and Nicholas Specialis (in Muratori, tom. x.), the one a contemporary, the other of the next century.

† See the Chronicle of Villani, the 11th volume of the *Annali d'Italia* of Muratori, and the 20th and 21st books of the *Istoria Civile* of Giannone.

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provinces of Asia were invaded by the Turks: they resolved to share the harvest of pay and plunder; and Frederic king of Sicily most liberally contributed the means of their departure. In a warfare of twenty years, a ship, or a camp, was become their country; arms were their sole profession and property; valour was the only virtue which they knew; their women had imbibed the fearless temper of their lovers and husbands: it was reported, that, with a stroke of their broad sword, the Catalans would cleave a horseman and a horse; and the report itself was a powerful weapon. Roger de Flor was the most popular of their chiefs; and his personal merit overshadowed the dignity of his prouder rivals of Arragon. The offspring of a marriage between a German gentleman of the court of Frederic the Second and a damsel of Brindisi, Roger was successively a templar, an apostate, a pirate, and at length the richest and most powerful admiral of the Mediterranean. He sailed from Messina to Constantinople, with eighteen galleys, four great ships, and eight thousand adventurers; and his previous treaty was faithfully accomplished by Andronicus the elder, who accepted with joy and terror this formidable succour. A palace was allotted for his reception, and a niece of the emperor was given in marriage to the valiant stranger, who was immediately created great duke or admiral of Romania. After a decent repose, he transported his troops over the Propontis, and boldly led them against the Turks: in two bloody battles thirty thousand of the Moslems were slain: he raised the siege of Philadelphia, and deserved the name of the deliverer of Asia. But after a short season of prosperity, the cloud of slavery and ruin again burst on that unhappy province. The inhabitants escaped (says a Greek historian) from the smoke into the flames; and the hostility of the

Turks was less pernicious than the friendship of the Catalans. The lives and fortunes which they had rescued, they considered as their own ; the exaction of fines and supplies was enforced by licentious rapine and arbitrary executions ; and, on the resistance of Magnesia, the great duke besieged a city of the Roman empire. These disorders he excused by the wrongs and passions of a victorious army ; nor would his own authority or person have been safe, had he dared to punish his faithful followers, who were defrauded of the just and covenanted price of their services. The threats and complaints of Andronicus disclosed the nakedness of the empire. His golden bull had invited no more than five hundred horse and a thousand foot soldiers ; yet the crowds of volunteers, who migrated to the East, had been enlisted and fed by his spontaneous bounty. While his bravest allies were content with three byzants, or pieces of gold, for their monthly pay, an ounce, or even two ounces, of gold were assigned to the Catalans, whose annual pension would thus amount to near a hundred pounds sterling : one of their chiefs had modestly rated at three hundred thousand crowns the value of his *future* merits ; and above a million had been issued from the treasury for the maintenance of these costly mercenaries. A cruel tax had been imposed on the corn of the husbandman : one-third was retrenched from the salaries of the public officers ; and the standard of the coin was so shamefully debased, that of the four-and-twenty parts only five were of pure gold. At the summons of the emperor, Roger evacuated a province which no longer supplied the materials of rapine ; but he refused to disperse his troops ; and while his style was respectful, his conduct was independent and hostile. He protested, that if the emperor should march against him, he would advance forty paces to kiss

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the ground before him, but in rising from this prostrate attitude Roger had a life and sword at the service of his friends. The great duke of Romania condescended to accept the title and ornaments of Cæsar; but he rejected the new proposal of the government of Asia with a subsidy of corn and money, on condition that he should reduce his troops to the harmless number of three thousand men. Assassination is the last resource of cowards. The Cæsar was tempted to visit the royal residence of Adrianople; in the apartment, and before the eyes of the empress, he was stabbed by the Alani guards; and though the deed was imputed to their private revenge, his countrymen, who dwelt at Constantinople in the security of peace, were involved in the same proscription by the prince or people. The loss of their leader intimidated the crowd of adventurers, who hoisted the sails of flight, and were soon scattered round the coasts of the Mediterranean. But a veteran band of fifteen hundred Catalans, or French, stood firm in the strong fortress of Gallipoli on the Hellespont, displayed the banners of Arragon, and offered to revenge and justify their chief by an equal combat of ten or a hundred warriors. Instead of accepting this bold defiance, the emperor Michael, the son and colleague of Andronicus, resolved to oppress them with the weight of multitudes: every nerve was strained to form an army of thirteen thousand horse and thirty thousand foot; and the Propontis was covered with the ships of the Greeks and Genoese. In two battles by sea and land, these mighty forces were encountered and overthrown by the despair and discipline of the Catalans; the young emperor fled to the palace; and an insufficient guard of light-horse was left for the protection of the open country. Victory renewed the hopes and numbers of the adventurers: every nation was blended under

the name and standard of the *great company*; and three thousand Turkish proselytes deserted from the Imperial service to join this military association. In the possession of Gallipoli, the Catalans intercepted the trade of Constantinople and the Black Sea, while they spread their devastations on either side of the Hellespont over the confines of Europe and Asia. To prevent their approach, the greatest part of the Byzantine territory was laid waste by the Greeks themselves: the peasants and their cattle retired into the city; and myriads of sheep and oxen, for which neither place nor food could be procured, were unprofitably slaughtered on the same day. Four times the emperor Andronicus sued for peace, and four times he was inflexibly repulsed, till the want of provisions, and the discord of the chiefs, compelled the Catalans to evacuate the banks of the Hellespont and the neighbourhood of the capital. After their separation from the Turks, the remains of the great company pursued their march through Macedonia and Thessaly, to seek a new establishment in the heart of Greece*.

After some ages of oblivion, Greece was awakened to new misfortunes by the arms of the Latins. In the two hundred and fifty years between the first and the last conquest of Constantinople, that venerable land was disputed by a multitude of petty tyrants; and without the comforts of freedom and genius, her ancient cities were again plunged in foreign and intestine war. I shall not pursue the obscure and various dynasties, that rose and fell on the continent or in the isles; but our silence on the fate of Athens†

Revolutions
of Athens,
A. D. 1204
—1456.

* The Catalan war is most copiously related by Pachymer, in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth books, till he breaks off in the year 1308. Nicephorus Gregoras (l. vii. 3—6) is more concise and complete. Ducange, who adopts these adventurers as French, has hunted their footsteps with his usual diligence (Hist. de C. P. l. vi. c. 22—46).

† See the laborious history of Ducange, whose accurate table of the French

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would argue a strange ingratitude to the first and purest school of liberal science and amusement. In the partition of the empire, the principality of Athens and Thebes was assigned to Otho de la Roche, a noble warrior of Burgundy, with the title of great duke *, which the Latins understood in their own sense, and the Greeks more foolishly derived from the age of Constantine. Otho followed the standard of the Marquis of Montferrat ; the ample state which he acquired by a miracle of conduct or fortune was peaceably inherited by his son and two grandsons, till the family, though not the nation, was changed, by the marriage of an heiress, into the elder branch of the house of Brienne. The son of that marriage, Walter de Brienne, succeeded to the duchy of Athens ; and, with the aid of some Catalan mercenaries, whom he invested with fiefs, reduced above thirty castles of the vassal or neighbouring lords. But when he was informed of the approach and ambition of the great company, he collected a force of seven hundred knights, six thousand four hundred horse, and eight thousand foot, and boldly met them on the banks of the river Cephissus in Bœotia. The Catalans amounted to no more than three thousand five hundred horse, and four thousand foot ; but the deficiency of numbers was compensated by stratagem and order. They formed round their camp an artificial inundation ; the duke and his knights advanced without fear or precaution on the verdant meadow ; their horses plunged into the bog ; and he was cut in pieces, with the greatest part of the French cavalry. His family and nation were expelled ; and

dynasties recapitulates the thirty-five passages in which he mentions the dukes of Athens.

* From these Latin princes of the fourteenth century, Boccace, Chaucer, and Shakespeare, have borrowed their Theseus *duke* of Athens. An ignorant age transfers its own language and manners to the most distant times.

his son Walter de Brienne, the titular Duke of Athens, the tyrant of Florence, and the constable of France, lost his life in the field of Poitiers. Attica and Bœotia were the rewards of the victorious Catalans: they married the widows and daughters of the slain; and during fourteen years, the great company was the terror of the Grecian states. Their factions drove them to acknowledge the sovereignty of the house of Arragon; and during the remainder of the fourteenth century, Athens, as a government or an appanage, was successively bestowed by the kings of Sicily. After the French and Câtalans, the third dynasty was that of the Accaioli, a family, plebeian at Florence, potent at Naples, and sovereign in Greece. Athens, which they embellished with new buildings, became the capital of a state, that extended over Thebes, Argos, Corinth, Delphi, and a part of Thessaly; and their reign was finally determined by Mahomet the Second, who strangled the last duke, and educated his sons in the discipline and religion of the seraglio.

Athens*, though no more than the shadow of her former self, still contains about eight or ten thousand inhabitants; of these, three-fourths are Greeks in religion and language; and the Turks, who compose the remainder, have relaxed, in their intercourse with the citizens, somewhat of the pride and gravity of their national character. The olive-tree, the gift of Minerva, flourishes in Attica; nor has the honey of Mount Hymettus lost any part of its exquisite flavour: but the languid trade is monopolized by strangers; and the agriculture of a barren land is

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Present
state of
Athens.

* The modern account of Athens, and the Athenians, is extracted from Spon (*Voyage en Grece*, tom. ii. p. 79—199), Wheeler (*Travels into Greece*, p. 337—414), Stuart (*Antiquities of Athens*, passim), and Chandler (*Travels into Greece*, p. 23—172). The first of these travellers visited Greece in the year 1676, the last 1765; and ninety years had not produced much difference in the tranquil scene.

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abandoned to the vagrant Walachians. The Athenians are still distinguished by the subtlety and acuteness of their understandings: but these qualities, unless ennobled by freedom, and enlightened by study, will degenerate into a low and selfish cunning: and it is a proverbial saying of the country, "From the Jews of Thessalonica, the Turks of Negropont, and the Greeks of Athens, good Lord deliver us!" This artful people has eluded the tyranny of the Turkish bashaws, by an expedient which alleviates their servitude and aggravates their shame. About the middle of the last century, the Athenians chose for their protector the Kislär Aga, or chief black eunuch of the seraglio. This Æthiopian slave, who possesses the sultan's ear, condescends to accept the tribute of thirty thousand crowns; his lieutenant, the Waywode, whom he annually confirms, may reserve for his own use about five or six thousand more; and such is the policy of the citizens, that they seldom fail to remove and punish an oppressive governor. Their private differences are decided by the archbishop, one of the richest prelates of the Greek church, since he possesses a revenue of one thousand pounds sterling; and by a tribunal of the eight *geronti* or elders, chosen in the eight quarters of the city. The noble families cannot trace their pedigree above three hundred years; but their principal members are distinguished by a grave demeanour, a fur cap, and the lofty appellation of *archon*. By some, who delight in the contrast, the modern language of Athens is represented as the most corrupt and barbarous of the seventy dialects of the vulgar Greek: this picture is too darkly coloured; but it would not be easy, in the country of Plato and Demosthenes, to find a reader or a copy of their works. The Athenians walk with supine indifference among the glorious ruins of antiquity; and such

is the debasement of their character, that they are incapable of admiring the genius of their predecessors.

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The long reign of Andronicus the elder is chiefly memorable by the disputes of the Greek church, the invasion of the Catalans, and the rise of the Ottoman power. He is celebrated as the most learned and virtuous prince of the age: but such virtue, and such learning, contributed neither to the perfection of the individual, nor to the happiness of society. I reduce into some few pages the enormous folios of Pachymer*, Cantacuzene†, and Nicephorus Gregoras‡, who have composed the prolix and languid story of the times. The name and situation of the emperor John Cantacuzene might inspire the most lively curiosity. His memorials of forty years extend from the revolt of the younger Andronicus to his own abdication of the empire; and it is observed, that he was the principal actor in the scenes which he describes. But in this eloquent work we should vainly seek the sincerity of a hero or a penitent. Retired in a cloister from the vices and passions of the world, he presents not a confession, but an apology, of the life of an ambitious statesman. Instead of unfolding the true counsels and characters of men, he displays the smooth and specious surface of events, highly varnished with his own praises and those of his friends. Their motives are always pure; their ends always legitimate: they conspire and rebel without any views of interest; and the violence

Andronicus,
A. D. 1282
—1320.

* Pachymer in seven books, 377 folio pages, describes the first twenty-six years of Andronicus the Elder.

† After an interval of twelve years, from the conclusion of Pachymer, Cantacuzenus takes up the pen; and his first book (c. 1—59. p. 9—150) relates the civil war, and the eight last years of the elder Andronicus.

‡ Nicephorus Gregoras more briefly includes the entire life and reign of Andronicus the Elder (l. vi. c. 1, p. 96—291). This is the part of which Cantacuzene complains, as a false and malicious representation of his conduct.

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First dis-
putes be-
tween the
elder and
younger
Andronicus.
A. D. 1320.

which they inflict or suffer is celebrated as the spontaneous effect of reason and virtue.

After the example of the first of the Palæologi, the elder Andronicus associated his son Michael to the honours of the purple; and from the age of eighteen to his premature death, that prince was acknowledged, above twenty-five years, as the second emperor of the Greeks. At the head of an army, he excited neither the fears of the enemy, nor the jealousy of the court: his modesty and patience were never tempted to compute the years of his father; nor was that father compelled to repent of his liberality either by the virtues or vices of his son. The son of Michael was named Andronicus from his grandfather, to whose early favour he was introduced by that nominal resemblance. The blossoms of wit and beauty increased the fondness of the elder Andronicus; and, with the common vanity of age, he expected to realize in the second, the hope which had been disappointed in the first, generation. The boy was educated in the palace as an heir and a favourite; and the oaths and acclamations of the people were formed by the names of the father, the son, and the grandson. But the younger Andronicus was speedily corrupted by his infant greatness, while he beheld with puerile impatience the double obstacle that hung, and might long hang, over his rising ambition. It was not to acquire fame, or to diffuse happiness, that he so eagerly aspired: wealth and impunity were in his eyes the most precious attributes of a monarch; and his first indiscreet demand was the sovereignty of some rich and fertile island, where he might lead a life of independence and pleasure. The emperor was offended by the loud and frequent intemperance which disturbed his capital: the sums which his parsimony denied were supplied

by the Genoese usurers of Pera ; and the oppressive debt, which consolidated the interest of a faction, could be discharged only by a revolution. A beautiful female, a matron in rank, a prostitute in manners, had engaged the younger Andronicus in love : but he had reason to suspect the nocturnal visits of a rival ; and a stranger, passing through the street, was pierced by the arrows of his guards, who were placed in ambush at her door. That stranger was his brother, prince Manuel, who languished and died of his wound ; and the emperor Michael, their common father, whose health was in a declining state, expired on the eighth day, lamenting the loss of both his children *. However guiltless in his intention, the younger Andronicus might impute a brother's and a father's death to the consequence of his own vices ; and deep was the sigh of thinking and feeling men, when they perceived, instead of sorrow and repentance, his ill-dissembled joy on the removal of two odious competitors. By these melancholy events, and the increase of his disorders, the mind of the elder emperor was gradually alienated ; and, after many fruitless reproofs, he transferred on another grandson his hopes and affection. The change was announced by the new oath of allegiance to the reigning sovereign, and the *person* whom he should appoint for his successor ; and the acknowledged heir, after a repetition of insults and complaints, was exposed to the indignity of a public trial. Before the sentence, which would probably have condemned him to a dungeon or a cell, the emperor was informed that the palace courts were filled with the armed followers of his grandson ; the judgment was softened to a treaty of reconciliation ; and

* We are indebted to Nicephorus Gregoras (l. viii. c. 1.) for the knowledge of this tragic adventure.

CHAP. the triumphant escape of the prince encouraged the
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Three civil
wars be-
tween the
two em-
perors,

A. D. 1321,

April 20—

A. D. 1328,

May 24.

Yet the capital, the clergy, and the senate, adhered to the person, or at least to the government, of the old emperor ; and it was only in the provinces, by flight, and revolt, and foreign succour, that the malcontents could hope to vindicate their cause and subvert his throne. The soul of the enterprise was the great domestic John Cantacuzene : the sally from Constantinople is the first date of his actions and memorials ; and if his own pen be most descriptive of his patriotism, an unfriendly historian has not refused to celebrate the zeal and ability which he displayed in the service of the young emperor. That prince escaped from the capital under the pretence of hunting ; erected his standard at Adrianople ; and, in a few days, assembled fifty thousand horse and foot, whom neither honour nor duty could have armed against the Barbarians. Such a force might have saved or commanded the empire ; but their counsels were discordant, their motions were slow and doubtful, and their progress was checked by intrigue and negotiation. The quarrel of the two Andronici was protracted, and suspended, and renewed, during a ruinous period of seven years. In the first treaty, the relics of the Greek empire were divided ; Constantinople, Thessalonica, and the islands, were left to the elder, while the younger acquired the sovereignty of the greatest part of Thrace, from Philippi to the Byzantine limits. By the second treaty, he stipulated the payment of his troops, his immediate coronation, and an adequate share of the power and revenue of the state. The third civil war was terminated by the surprise of Constantinople, the final retreat of the old emperor, and the sole reign of his victorious grandson. The reasons of

Coronation
of the

younger

Andronicus,

A. D. 1325,

Feb. 2.

this delay may be found in the characters of the men and of the times. When the heir of the monarchy first pleaded his wrongs and his apprehensions, he was heard with pity and applause ; and his adherents repeated on all sides the inconsistent promise, that he would increase the pay of the soldiers, and alleviate the burthens of the people. The grievances of forty years were mingled in this revolt ; and the rising generation was fatigued by the endless prospect of a reign, whose favourites and maxims were of other times. The youth of Andronicus had been without spirit, his age was without reverence : his taxes produced an annual revenue of five hundred thousand pounds ; yet the richest of the sovereigns of Christendom was incapable of maintaining three thousand horse and twenty galleys, to resist the destructive progress of the Turks. “ How different,” said the younger Andronicus, “ is my situation from that of the son of Philip ! Alexander might complain, that his father would leave him nothing to conquer : alas ! my grandsire will leave me nothing to lose.” But the Greeks were soon admonished, that the public disorders could not be healed by a civil war ; and that their young favourite was not destined to be the saviour of a falling empire. On the first repulse, his party was broken by his own levity, their intestine discord, and the intrigues of the ancient court, which tempted each malcontent to desert or betray the cause of rebellion. Andronicus the Younger was touched with remorse, or fatigued with business, or deceived by negotiation : pleasure rather than power was his aim ; and the licence of maintaining a thousand hounds, a thousand hawks, and a thousand huntsmen, was sufficient to sully his fame and disarm his ambition.

Let us now survey the catastrophe of this busy

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The elder
Andronicus
abdicates
the govern-
ment,
A. D. 1228,
May 24.

plot, and the final situation of the principal actors*. The age of Andronicus was consumed in civil discord; and, amidst the events of war and treaty, his power and reputation continually decayed, till the fatal night in which the gates of the city and palace were opened without resistance to his grandson. His principal commander scorned the repeated warnings of danger; and retiring to rest in the vain security of ignorance, abandoned the feeble monarch, with some priests and pages, to the terrors of a sleepless night. These terrors were quickly realized by the hostile shouts, which proclaimed the titles and victory of Andronicus the Younger; and the aged emperor despatched a suppliant message to resign the sceptre, and to obtain his life at the hands of the conqueror. The answer of his grandson was decent and pious; at the prayer of his friends, the younger Andronicus assumed the sole administration; but the elder still enjoyed the name and pre-eminence of the first emperor, the use of the great palace, and a pension of twenty-four thousand pieces of gold, one-half of which was assigned on the royal treasury, and the other on the fishery of Constantinople. But his impotence was soon exposed to contempt and oblivion; the vast silence of the palace was disturbed only by the cattle and poultry of the neighbourhood, which roved with impunity through the solitary courts; and a reduced allowance of ten thousand pieces of gold was all that he could ask, and more than he could hope. His calamities were embittered by the gradual extinction of sight: his confinement was rendered each day more rigorous; and, during the absence and sickness of his grandson, his inhuman keepers, by the threats of instant death, com-

* I follow the chronology of Nicephoras Gregoras, who is remarkably exact.

pelled him to exchange the purple for the monastic habit and profession. The monk *Antony* had renounced the pomp of the world : yet he had occasion for a coarse fur in the winter season, and as wine was forbidden by his confessor, and water by his physician, the sherbet of Egypt was his common drink. It was not without difficulty that the late emperor could procure three or four pieces to satisfy these simple wants ; and if he bestowed the gold to relieve the more painful distress of a friend, the sacrifice is of some weight in the scale of humanity and religion. Four years after his abdication, Andronicus or Antony expired in a cell, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

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Nor was the reign of the younger more glorious or fortunate than that of the elder Andronicus*. He gathered the fruits of ambition ; but the taste was transient and bitter : in the supreme station he lost the remains of his early popularity, and the defects of his character became still more conspicuous to the world. The public reproach urged him to march in person against the Turks ; nor did his courage fail in the hour of trial ; but a defeat and a wound were the only trophies of his expedition in Asia, which confirmed the establishment of the Ottoman monarchy. The abuses of the civil government attained their full maturity and perfection ; his neglect of forms, and the confusion of national dresses, are deplored by the Greeks, as the fatal symptoms of the decay of the empire. Andronicus was old before his time : the intemperance of youth had accelerated the infirmities of age ; and after being rescued from a dangerous malady by nature, or physic, he was snatched away before he had accomplished his forty-fifth year. He

His death,
A. D. 1332,
Feb. 13.

Reign of
Andronicus
the younger,
A. D. 1328,
May 24—
A. D. 1341,
June 15.

* The sole reign of Andronicus the younger is described by Cantacuzene (l. ii. c. 1—40. p. 191—339), and Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ix. c. 7—l. xi. c. 11. p. 262—361).

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His regency
is attacked,
A. D. 1341,

by Apocau-
cus ;

by the em-
press Anne
of Savoy ;

by the
patriarch.

Had the regent found a suitable return of obedience and gratitude, perhaps he would have acted with pure and zealous fidelity in the service of his pupil *. A guard of five hundred soldiers watched over his person and the palace : the funeral of the late emperor was decently performed ; the capital was silent and submissive ; and five hundred letters, which Cantacuzene despatched in the first month, informed the provinces of their loss and their duty. The prospect of a tranquil minority was blasted by the great duke or admiral Apocaucus ; and to exaggerate *his* perfidy, the Imperial historian is pleased to magnify his own imprudence, in raising him to that office against the advice of his more sagacious sovereign. Bold and subtle, rapacious and profuse, the avarice and ambition of Apocaucus were by turns subservient to each other ; and his talents were applied to the ruin of his country. His arrogance was heightened by the command of a naval force and an impregnable castle ; and, under the mask of oaths and flattery, he secretly conspired against his benefactor. The female court of the empress was bribed and directed : he encouraged Anne of Savoy to assert, by the law of nature, the tutelage of her son ; the love of power was disguised by the anxiety of maternal tenderness ; and the founder of the Palæologi had instructed his posterity to dread the example of a perfidious guardian. The patriarch John of Apri was a proud and feeble old man, encompassed by a numerous and hungry kindred. He produced an obsolete epistle of Andronicus, which bequeathed the prince and people to his pious care : the fate of his predecessor Arsenius prompted him to prevent, rather than punish, the crimes of a usurper ; and

* See the regency and reign of John Cantacuzenus, and the whole progress of the civil war, in his own history (l. iii. c. 1—100. p. 348—700), and in that of Nicephorus Gregoras (l. xii. c. 1—l. xv. c. 9. p. 353—492).

Apocaucus smiled at the success of his own flattery, when he beheld the Byzantine priest assuming the state and temporal claims of the Roman pontiff. Between three persons so different in their situation and character, a private league was concluded : a shadow of authority was restored to the senate ; and the people was tempted by the name of freedom. By this powerful confederacy, the great domestic was assaulted, at first with clandestine, at length with open, arms. His prerogatives were disputed ; his opinion slighted ; his friends persecuted ; and his safety was threatened both in the camp and city. In his absence on the public service, he was accused of treason ; proscribed as an enemy of the church and state ; and delivered, with all his adherents, to the sword of justice and the vengeance of the people : his fortunes were confiscated ; his aged mother was cast into prison ; all his past services were buried in oblivion ; and he was driven by injustice to perpetrate the crime of which he was accused. From the review of his preceding conduct, Cantacuzene appears to have been guiltless of any treasonable designs ; and the only suspicion of his innocence must arise from the vehemence of his protestations, and the sublime purity which he ascribes to his own virtue. While the empress and the patriarch still affected the appearances of harmony, he repeatedly solicited the permission of retiring to a private, and even a monastic life. After he had been declared a public enemy, it was his fervent wish to throw himself at the feet of the young emperor, and to receive without a murmur the stroke of the executioner : it was not without reluctance that he listened to the voice of reason, which inculcated the sacred duty of saving his family and friends, and proved that he could only save them by drawing the sword and assuming the Imperial title.

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Cantacuzene assumes the purple, A. D. 1341, October 26.

In the strong city of Demotica, his peculiar domain, the emperor John Cantacuzenus was invested with the purple buskins : his right leg was clothed by his noble kinsmen, the left by the Latin chiefs, on whom he conferred the order of knighthood. But, even in this act of revolt, he was still studious of loyalty ; and the titles of John Palæologus and Anne of Savoy were proclaimed before his own name and that of his wife Irene. Such vain ceremony is a thin disguise of rebellion ; nor are there perhaps any *personal* wrongs that can authorize a subject to take arms against his sovereign : but the want of preparation and success may confirm the assurance of the usurper, that this decisive step was the effect of necessity rather than of choice. Constantinople adhered to the young emperor : the king of Bulgaria was invited to the relief of Adrianople : the principal cities of Thrace and Macedonia, after some hesitation, renounced their obedience to the great domestic ; and the leaders of the troops and the provinces were induced, by their private interest, to prefer the imperfect dominion of a woman and a priest. The army of Cantacuzene, in sixteen divisions, was stationed on the banks of the Melas to tempt or intimidate the capital : it was dispersed by treachery or fear ; and the officers, more especially the mercenary Latins, accepted the bribes, and embraced the service, of the Byzantine court. After this loss, the rebel emperor (he fluctuated between the two characters) took the road of Thessalonica with a chosen remnant ; but he failed in his enterprise on that important place ; and he was closely pursued by the great duke, his enemy Apocaucus, at the head of a superior power, by sea and land. Driven from the coast, in his march, or rather flight, into the mountains of Servia, Cantacuzene assembled his troops to scrutinize those who were worthy and willing to

accompany his broken fortunes. A base majority bowed and retired; and his trusty band was diminished to two thousand, and at last to five hundred, volunteers. The *Cral*, or despot of the Servians, received him with generous hospitality: but the ally was insensibly degraded to a suppliant, a hostage, a captive; and, in this miserable dependence, he waited at the door of the Barbarian, who could dispose of the life and liberty of a Roman emperor. The most tempting offers could not persuade the *Cral* to violate his trust; but he soon inclined to the stronger side, and his friend was dismissed without injury to a new vicissitude of hopes and perils. Near six years the flame of discord burnt with various success and unabated rage: the cities were distracted by the faction of the nobles and the plebeians, the Cantacuzeni and Palæologi; and the Bulgarians, the Servians, and the Turks, were invoked on both sides as the instruments of private ambition and of common ruin. The regent deplored the calamities of which he was the author and victim; and his own experience might dictate a just and lively remark on the different nature of foreign and civil war. "The former," said he, "is the external warmth of summer, always tolerable, and often beneficial; the latter is the deadly heat of a fever, which consumes without a remedy the vitals of the constitution."

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The civil
war,
A.D. 1341
—1347.

The introduction of barbarians and savages into the contests of civilized nations is a measure pregnant with shame and mischief; which the interest of the moment may compel, but which is reprobated by the best principles of humanity and reason. It is the practice of both sides to accuse their enemies of the guilt of the first alliances; and those who fail in their negotiations are loudest in their censure of the example which they envy, and would gladly imitate. The Turks of Asia were less barbarous, perhaps, than

Victory of
Cantacuzene.

the shepherds of Bulgaria and Servia ; but their religion rendered them the implacable foes of Rome and Christianity. To acquire the friendship of their emirs, the two factions vied with each other in baseness and profusion : the dexterity of Cantacuzene obtained the preference ; but the succour and victory were dearly purchased by the marriage of his daughter with an infidel, the captivity of many thousand Christians, and the passage of the Ottomans into Europe, the last and fatal stroke in the fall of the Roman empire. The inclining scale was decided in his favour by the death of Apocaucus ; the just, though singular, retribution of his crimes. A crowd of nobles or plebeians, whom he feared or hated, had been seized by his orders in the capital and the provinces ; and the old palace of Constantine was assigned for the place of their confinement. Some alterations in raising the walls, and narrowing the cells, had been ingeniously contrived to prevent their escape, and aggravate their misery ; and the work was incessantly pressed by the daily visits of the tyrant. His guards watched at the gate, and as he stood in the inner court to overlook the architects, without fear or suspicion, he was assaulted and laid breathless on the ground, by two resolute prisoners of the Palæologian race, who were armed with sticks, and animated by despair. On the rumour of revenge and liberty, the captive multitude broke their fetters, fortified their prison, and exposed from the battlements the tyrant's head, presuming on the favour of the people and the clemency of the empress. Anne of Savoy might rejoice in the fall of a haughty and ambitious minister ; but while she delayed to resolve or to act, the populace, more especially the mariners, were excited by the widow of the great duke to a sedition, an assault and a massacre ; and in his death the monster was not less bloody and venomous than in his life. Yet

his talents alone upheld the cause of the young emperor ; and his surviving associates, suspicious of each other, abandoned the conduct of the war, and rejected the fairest terms of accommodation. In the beginning of the dispute, the empress felt and complained that she was deceived by the enemies of Cantacuzene. But Anne soon learned to hate without a teacher ; she beheld the misfortunes of the empire with the indifference of a stranger ; her jealousy was exasperated by the competition of a rival empress ; and on the first symptoms of a more yielding temper, she threatened the patriarch to convene a synod, and degrade him from his office. Their incapacity and discord would have afforded the most decisive advantage ; but the civil war was protracted by the weakness of both parties ; and the moderation of Cantacuzene has not escaped the reproach of timidity and indolence. He successively recovered the provinces and cities ; and the realm of his pupil was measured by the walls of Constantinople ; but the metropolis alone counterbalanced the rest of the empire : nor could he attempt that important conquest till he had secured in his favour the public voice and a private correspondence.

An Italian, of the name of Facciolati, had succeeded to the office of great duke : the ships, the guards, and the golden gate, were subject to his command ; but his humble ambition was bribed to become the instrument of treachery ; and the revolution was accomplished without danger or bloodshed. Destitute of the powers of resistance, or the hope of relief, the inflexible Anne would have still defended the palace, and have smiled to behold the capital in flames rather than in the possession of a rival. She yielded to the prayers of her friends and enemies ; and the treaty was dictated by the conqueror, who professed a loyal and zealous attachment to the son of his benefactor. The marriage of his daughter with John Palæologus

He re-enters Constantinople,
A.D. 1347,
January 8.

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was at length consummated : the hereditary right of the pupil was acknowledged ; but the sole administration during ten years was vested in the guardian. Two emperors and three empresses were seated on the Byzantine throne ; and a general amnesty quieted the apprehensions, and confirmed the property, of the most guilty subjects. The festival of the coronation and nuptials was celebrated with the appearances of concord and magnificence, and both were equally fallacious. During the late troubles, the treasures of the state, and even the furniture of the palace, had been alienated or embezzled : the royal banquet was served in pewter or earthenware ; and such was the proud poverty of the times, that the absence of gold and jewels was supplied by the paltry artifices of glass and gilt leather.

Reign of
John Can-
tacuzene,
A.D. 1347,
Jan. 8—
A.D. 1355,
January.

I hasten to conclude the personal history of John Cantacuzene*. He triumphed and reigned ; but his reign and triumph were clouded by the discontent of his own and the adverse faction. His followers might style the general amnesty an act of pardon for his enemies, and of oblivion for his friends : in his cause their estates had been forfeited or plundered ; and as they wandered naked and hungry through the streets, they cursed the selfish generosity of a leader, who, on the throne of the empire, might relinquish without merit his private inheritance. The adherents of the empress blushed to hold their lives and fortunes by the precarious favour of a usurper ; and the thirst of revenge was concealed by a tender concern for the succession, and even the safety of her son. They were justly alarmed by a petition of the friends of

* From his return to Constantinople, Cantacuzene continues his history, and that of the empire, one year beyond the abdication of his son Matthew, A.D. 1357 (l. iv. c. 1—50. p. 705—911). Nicephorus Gregoras ends with the synod of Constantinople, in the year 1351 (l. xxii. c. 3. p. 660 ; the rest, to the conclusion of the 24th book, p. 717, is all controversy), and his fourteen last books are still MSS. in the king of France's library.

Cantacuzene, that they might be released from their oath of allegiance to the Palæologi, and intrusted with the defence of some cautionary towns; a measure supported with argument and eloquence, and which was rejected (says the Imperial historian) “by *my* “sublime, and almost incredible, virtue.” His repose was disturbed by the sound of plots and seditions; and he trembled lest the lawful prince should be stolen away by some foreign or domestic enemy, who would inscribe his name and his wrongs in the banners of rebellion. As the son of Andronicus advanced in the years of manhood, he began to feel and to act for himself; and his rising ambition was rather stimulated than checked by the imitation of his father’s vices. If we may trust his own professions, Cantacuzene laboured with honest industry to correct these sordid and sensual appetites, and to raise the mind of the young prince to a level with his fortune. In the Servian expedition the two emperors showed themselves in cordial harmony to the troops and provinces; and the younger colleague was initiated by the elder in the mysteries of war and government. After the conclusion of the peace, Palæologus was left at Thessalonica, a royal residence, and a frontier station, to secure by his absence the peace of Constantinople, and to withdraw his youth from the temptations of a luxurious capital. But the distance weakened the powers of control, and the son of Andronicus was surrounded with artful or unthinking companions, who taught him to hate his guardian, to deplore his exile, and to vindicate his rights. A private treaty with the Cral or despot of Servia was soon followed by an open revolt; and Cantacuzene, on the throne of the elder Andronicus, defended the cause of age and prerogative, which in his youth he had so vigorously attacked. At his request, the empress mother undertook the voyage of Thessalonica, and the office

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John Palæo-
logus takes
up arms
against him,
A.D. 1353.

of mediation : she returned without success ; and unless Anne of Savoy was instructed by adversity, we may doubt the sincerity, or at least the fervour, of her zeal. While the regent grasped the sceptre with a firm and vigorous hand, she had been instructed to declare, that the ten years of his legal administration would soon elapse ; and that, after a full trial of the vanity of the world, the emperor Cantacuzene sighed for the repose of a cloister, and was ambitious only of a heavenly crown. Had these sentiments been genuine, his voluntary abdication would have restored the peace of the empire, and his conscience would have been relieved by an act of justice. Palæologus alone was responsible for his future government ; and whatever might be his vices, they were surely less formidable than the calamities of a civil war, in which the Barbarians and infidels were again invited to assist the Greeks in their mutual destruction. By the arms of the Turks, who now struck a deep and everlasting root in Europe, Cantacuzene prevailed in the third contest in which he had been involved ; and the young emperor, driven from the sea and land, was compelled to take shelter among the Latins of the isle of Tenedos. His insolence and obstinacy provoked the victor to a step which must render the quarrel irreconcilable ; and the association of his son Matthew, whom he invested with the purple, established the succession in the family of the Cantacuzeni. But Constantinople was still attached to the blood of her ancient princes ; and this last injury accelerated the restoration of the rightful heir. A noble Genoese espoused the cause of Palæologus, obtained a promise of his sister, and achieved the revolution with two galleys and two thousand five hundred auxiliaries. Under the pretence of distress, they were admitted into the lesser port ; a gate was opened, and the Latin shout of “ Long life and victory to the emperor, John

“Palæologus!” was answered by a general rising in his favour. A numerous and loyal party yet adhered to the standard of Cantacuzene: but he asserts in his history (does he hope for belief?) that his tender conscience rejected the assurance of conquest; that, in free obedience to the voice of religion and philosophy, he descended from the throne, and embraced with pleasure the monastic habit and profession*.

So soon as he ceased to be a prince, his successor was not unwilling that he should be a saint: the remainder of his life was devoted to piety and learning; in the cells of Constantinople and mount Athos, the monk Joasaph was respected as the temporal and spiritual father of the emperor; and if he issued from his retreat, it was as the minister of peace, to subdue the obstinacy, and solicit the pardon, of his rebellious son.

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Abdication
of Cantacuzene,
A.D. 1355,
January.

For the conclusion of this chapter, I have reserved the Genoese war, which shook the throne of Cantacuzene, and betrayed the debility of the Greek empire. The Genoese, who, after the recovery of Constantinople, were seated in the suburb of Pera or Galata, received that honourable fief from the bounty of the emperor. They were indulged in the use of their laws and magistrates; but they submitted to the duties of vassals and subjects: the forcible word of *liegemen* was borrowed from the Latin jurisprudence; and their *podesta*, or chief, before he entered on his office, saluted the emperor with loyal acclamations and vows of fidelity. Genoa sealed a firm alliance with the Greeks; and, in case of a defensive war, a supply of fifty empty galleys, and a succour of fifty galleys completely armed and manned, was promised by the republic to the empire. In the revival

Establishment of the
Genoese at
Pera or
Galata,
A.D. 1261
—1347.

* The awkward apology of Cantacuzene (l. iv. c. 39—42), who relates, with visible confusion, his own downfall, may be supplied by the less accurate but more honest narratives of Matthew Villani (l. iv. c. 46, in the Script. Rerum Ital. tom. xiv. p. 268), and Ducas (c. 10, 11).

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of a naval force, it was the aim of Michael Palæologus to deliver himself from a foreign aid ; and his vigorous government contained the Genoese of Galata within those limits which the insolence of wealth and freedom provoked them to exceed. A sailor threatened that they should soon be masters of Constantinople, and slew the Greek who resented this national affront ; and an armed vessel, after refusing to salute the palace, was guilty of some acts of piracy in the Black Sea. Their countrymen threatened to support their cause ; but the long and open village of Galata was instantly surrounded by the Imperial troops ; till, in the moment of the assault, the prostrate Genoese implored the clemency of their sovereign. The defenceless situation which secured their obedience exposed them to the attack of their Venetian rivals, who, in the reign of the elder Andronicus, presumed to violate the majesty of the throne. On the approach of their fleets, the Genoese, with their families and effects, retired into the city : their empty habitations were reduced to ashes ; and the feeble prince, who had viewed the destruction of his suburb, expressed his resentment, not by arms, but by ambassadors. This misfortune, however, was advantageous to the Genoese, who obtained, and imperceptibly abused, the dangerous licence of surrounding Galata with a strong wall ; of introducing into the ditch the waters of the sea ; of erecting lofty turrets ; and of mounting a train of military engines on the rampart. The narrow bounds in which they had been circumscribed were insufficient for the growing colony : each day they acquired some addition of landed property ; and the adjacent hills were covered with their villas and castles, which they joined and protected by new fortifications*. The navigation and trade of the

* The establishment and progress of the Genoese at Pera, or Galata, is described by Ducange (C. P. Christiana, l. i. p. 68, 69) from the Byzantine historians, Pa-

Euxine was the patrimony of the Greek emperors, who commanded the narrow entrance, the gates, as it were, of that inland sea. In the reign of Michael Palæologus, their prerogative was acknowledged by the sultan of Egypt, who solicited and obtained the liberty of sending an annual ship for the purchase of slaves in Circassia and the Lesser Tartary : a liberty pregnant with mischief to the Christian cause ; since these youths were transformed by education and discipline into the formidable Mamalukes. From the colony of Pera, the Genoese engaged with superior advantage in the lucrative trade of the Black Sea ; and their industry supplied the Greeks with fish and corn, two articles of food almost equally important to a superstitious people. The spontaneous bounty of nature appears to have bestowed the harvests of the Ukraine, the produce of a rude and savage husbandry ; and the endless exportation of salt fish and caviar is annually renewed by the enormous sturgeons that are caught at the mouth of the Don or Tanais, in their last station of the rich mud and shallow water of the Mæotis. The waters of the Oxus, the Caspian, the Volga, and the Don, opened a rare and laborious passage for the gems and spices of India ; and, after three months' march, the caravans of Carizme met the Italian vessels in the harbours of Crimæa. These various branches of trade were monopolized by the diligence and power of the Genoese. Their rivals of Venice and Pisa were forcibly expelled ; the natives were awed by the castles and cities, which arose on the foundations of their humble factories ; and their principal establishment of Caffa * was besieged with-

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Their trade
and inso-
lence.

chymer (l. ii. c. 35. l. v. 10, 30. l. ix. 15. l. xii. 6, 9), Nicephorus Gregoras (l. v. c. 4. l. vi. c. 11. l. ix. c. 5. l. xi. c. 1. l. xv. c. 1. 6), and Cantacuzene (l. i. c. 12. l. ii. c. 29, &c.).

* Nic. Gregoras (l. xiii. c. 12) is judicious and well-informed on the trade and colonies of the Black Sea. Chardin describes the present ruins of Caffa, where, in forty days, he saw above 400 sail employed in the corn and fish trade (*Voyages en Perse*, tom. i. p. 46—48).

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out effect by the Tartar powers. Destitute of a navy, the Greeks were oppressed by these haughty merchants, who fed, or famished Constantinople, according to their interest. They proceeded to usurp the customs, the fishery, and even the toll, of the Bosphorus; and while they derived from these objects a revenue of two hundred thousand pieces of gold, a remnant of thirty thousand was reluctantly allowed to the emperor*. The colony of Pera, or Galata, acted, in peace and war, as an independent state; and, as it will happen in distant settlements, the Genoese podesta too often forgot that he was the servant of his own masters.

Their war
with the
emperor
Cantacuzene,
A.D. 1348.

These usurpations were encouraged by the weakness of the elder Andronicus, and by the civil wars that afflicted his age and the minority of his grandson. The talents of Cantacuzene were employed to the ruin, rather than the restoration, of the empire; and after his domestic victory, he was condemned to an ignominious trial, whether the Greeks or the Genoese should reign in Constantinople. The merchants of Pera were offended by his refusal of some contiguous lands, some commanding heights, which they proposed to cover with new fortifications; and in the absence of the emperor, who was detained at Demotica by sickness, they ventured to brave the debility of a female reign. A Byzantine vessel, which had presumed to fish at the mouth of the harbour, was sunk by these audacious strangers; the fishermen were murdered. Instead of suing for pardon, the Genoese demanded satisfaction; required, in a haughty strain, that the Greeks should renounce the exercise of navigation; and encountered with regular arms the first sallies of the popular indignation. They instantly occupied the debateable land; and by the

* See Nic. Gregoras, l. xvii. c. 1.

labour of a whole people, of either sex and of every age, the wall was raised, and the ditch was sunk, with incredible speed. At the same time, they attacked and burnt two Byzantine galleys; while the three others, the remainder of the Imperial navy, escaped from their hands: the habitations without the gates, or along the shore, were pillaged and destroyed; and the care of the regent, of the empress Irene, was confined to the preservation of the city. The return of Cantacuzene dispelled the public consternation: the emperor inclined to peaceful counsels; but he yielded to the obstinacy of his enemies, who rejected all reasonable terms, and to the ardour of his subjects. Yet they reluctantly paid the taxes, that he imposed for the construction of ships, and the expenses of the war; and as the two nations were masters, the one of the land, the other of the sea, Constantinople and Pera were pressed by the evils of a mutual siege. The merchants of the colony, who had believed that a few days would terminate the war, already murmured at their losses; the succours from their mother-country were delayed by the factions of Genoa; and the most cautious embraced the opportunity of a Rhodian vessel to remove their families and effects from the scene of hostility. In the spring, the Byzantine fleet, seven galleys, and a train of smaller vessels, issued from the mouth of the harbour, and steered in a single line along the shore of Pera; unskilfully presenting their sides to the beaks of the adverse squadron. The crews were composed of peasants and mechanics; nor was their ignorance compensated by the native courage of barbarians: the wind was strong, the waves were rough; and no sooner did the Greeks perceive a distant and inactive enemy, than they leaped headlong into the sea, from a doubtful to an inevitable peril. The troops that marched to the attack of the lines of Pera were struck

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Destruction
of his fleet,
A.D. 1349.

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at the same moment with a similar panic: and the Genoese were astonished, and almost ashamed, at their double victory. Their triumphant vessels, crowned with flowers, and dragging after them the captive galleys, repeatedly passed and repassed before the palace. The only virtue of the emperor was patience; and the hope of revenge his sole consolation. Yet the distress of both parties interposed a temporary agreement; and the shame of the empire was disguised by a thin veil of dignity and power. Summoning the chiefs of the colony, Cantacuzene affected to despise the trivial object of the debate; and, after a mild reproof, most liberally granted the lands, which had been previously resigned to the seeming custody of his officers*.

Victory of
the Genoese
over the
Venetians
and Greeks,
A.D. 1352,
Feb. 13.

But the emperor was soon solicited to violate the treaty, and to join his arms with the Venetians, the perpetual enemies of Genoa and her colonies. While he compared the reasons of peace and war, his moderation was provoked by a wanton insult of the inhabitants of Pera, who discharged from their rampart a large stone that fell in the midst of Constantinople. On his just complaint, they coldly blamed the imprudence of their engineer; but the next day the insult was repeated, and they exulted in a second proof that the royal city was not beyond the reach of their artillery. Cantacuzene instantly signed his treaty with the Venetians; but the weight of the Roman empire was scarcely felt in the balance of these opulent and powerful republics†. From the straits of Gibraltar to the mouth of the Tanais, their fleets encountered each other with various success; and a memorable battle was fought in the narrow sea, under

* The events of this war are related by Cantacuzene (l. iv. c. 11) with obscurity and confusion, and by Nic. Gregoras (l. xvii. c. 1—7) in a clear and honest narrative.

† The second war is darkly told by Cantacuzene (l. iv. c. 18. p. 24, 25. 28—32), who wishes to disguise what he dares not deny. I regret this part of Nic. Gregoras, which is still in MS. at Paris.

the walls of Constantinople. It would not be an easy task to reconcile the accounts of the Greeks, the Venetians, and the Genoese*; and while I depend on the narrative of an impartial historian†, I shall borrow from each nation the facts that redound to their own disgrace, and the honour of their foes. The Venetians, with their allies the Catalans, had the advantage of number; and their fleet, with the poor addition of eight Byzantine galleys, amounted to seventy-five sail: the Genoese did not exceed sixty-four; but in those times their ships of war were distinguished by the superiority of their size and strength. The names and families of their naval commanders, Pisani and Doria, are illustrious in the annals of their country; but the personal merit of the former was eclipsed by the fame and abilities of his rival. They engaged in tempestuous weather; and the tumultuary conflict was continued from the dawn to the extinction of light. The enemies of the Genoese applauded their prowess: the friends of the Venetians are dissatisfied with their behaviour: but all parties agree in praising the skill and boldness of the Catalans, who, with many wounds, sustained the brunt of the action. On the separation of the fleets, the event might appear doubtful; but the thirteen Genoese galleys, that had been sunk or taken, were compensated by a double loss of the allies; of fourteen Venetians, ten Catalans, and two Greeks; and even the grief of the conquerors expressed the assurance and habit of more decisive victories. Pisani confessed his defeat, by retiring into a fortified harbour, from whence, under the pretext of the orders of the senate, he steered with a broken and flying squadron for the isle of Candia, and abandoned to his rivals the sovereignty of the sea. In a public epistle, addressed

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* Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. xii. p. 144).

† See the Chronicle of Matteo Villani of Florence, l. ii. c. 59, 60. p. 145—147. c. 74, 75. p. 156, 157. in Muratori's Collection, tom. xiv.

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Their treaty
with the
empire,
May 6.

to the doge and senate, Petrarch employs his eloquence to reconcile the maritime powers, the two luminaries of Italy. The orator celebrates the valour and victory of the Genoese, the first of men in the exercise of naval war : he drops a tear on the misfortunes of their Venetian brethren ; but he exhorts them to pursue with fire and sword the base and perfidious Greeks ; to purge the metropolis of the East from the heresy with which it was infected. Deserted by their friends, the Greeks were incapable of resistance ; and, three months after the battle, the emperor Cantacuzene solicited and subscribed a treaty, which for ever banished the Venetians and Catalans, and granted to the Venetians a monopoly of trade, and almost a right of dominion. The Roman empire (I smile in transcribing the name) might soon have sunk into a province of Genoa, if the ambition of the republic had not been checked by the ruin of her freedom and naval power. A long contest of one hundred and thirty years was determined by the triumph of Venice ; and the factions of the Genoese compelled them to seek for domestic peace under the protection of a foreign lord, the duke of Milan, or the French king. Yet the spirit of commerce survived that of conquest ; and the colony of Pera still awed the capital and navigated the Euxine, till it was involved by the Turks in the final servitude of Constantinople itself.

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Conquests of Zingis Khan and the Moguls, from China to Poland.—Escape of Constantinople and the Greeks.—Origin of the Ottoman Turks in Bithynia.—Reigns and Victories of Othman, Orchan, Amurath the first, and Bajazet the first.—Foundation and Progress of the Turkish Monarchy in Asia and Europe.—Danger of Constantinople and the Greek Empire.—Elevation of Timour or Tamerlane to the Throne of Samarcand.—His extensive Conquests.—His Turkish War.—Defeat and Captivity of Bajazet.—The Iron Cage.—Death of Timour.—Civil War of the Sons of Bajazet.—Restoration of the Turkish Monarchy by Mahomet the first.—Siege of Constantinople by Amurath the second.

THE rise and progress of the Ottomans, the present sovereigns of Constantinople, are connected with the most important series of modern history, but they are founded on a previous knowledge of the great irruption of the Moguls and Tartars. From the spacious highlands between China, Siberia, and the Caspian Sea, the tide of emigration and war has repeatedly been poured. These ancient seats of the Huns and Turks were occupied in the twelfth century by many pastoral tribes, of the same descent and similar manners; which were united and led to conquest by the formidable Zingis. In his ascent to greatness that Barbarian, whose private appellation was Temugin, had trampled on the necks of his equals. His birth was noble, and in his fortieth year he had established his fame and dominion over the circumjacent tribes. He then accepted the title of Zingis, The Most Great; and was solemnly proclaimed Great Khan, or emperor of the Moguls and

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Tartars *. The reason of Zingis was not informed by books. The Khan could neither read nor write; and except the tribe of the Igours, the greatest part of the Moguls and Tartars were as illiterate as their sovereign. The memory of their exploits was preserved by tradition. Sixty-eight years after the death of Zingis, these traditions were collected and transcribed †. The brevity of their domestic annals may be supplied by the Chinese, Persians, Armenians, Syrians, Arabians, Greeks, Russians, Poles, Hungarians, and Latins; and each nation will deserve credit in the relation of their own disasters and defeats ‡. The conquest of China was the great object of the ambition of Zingis. Pekin § was taken after a long siege, and the five northern provinces of that empire were subdued by his arms.

In the West he touched the dominions of Mahommed, sultan of Carizme, who reigned from the Persian Gulf to the borders of India and Turkestan. Seven hundred thousand Moguls and Tartars are said to have marched under the standards of Zingis, and his four sons. In the vast plains to the north of the Sihon or Iaxartes, they were encountered by 400,000 soldiers of the sultan, and in one battle 160,000 Carizmians are said to have been slain. The

* Since the history and tragedy of Voltaire, Gengis (at least in French) seems to be the more fashionable spelling; but Abulghazi Khan must have known the true name of his ancestor. His etymology appears just. *Zin* in the Mogul tongue signifies *great*, and *gis* is the superlative termination (*Hist. Genealogique des Tartars*). From the same idea of magnitude, the appellation of Zingis is bestowed on the ocean. The name of Moguls has prevailed among the Orientals, and still adheres to the titular sovereign, the Great Mogul of Hindostan. The Tartars (more properly Tatars) were descended from Tatar Khan, the brother of Mogul Khan (see Abulghazi); and once formed a horde of 70,000 families on the borders of Kitay.

† In the year 1294, by the command of Cazan, Khan of Persia, the fourth in descent from Zingis. From these traditions, his Vizir Fadlallah composed a Mogul History in the Persian language, which has been used by Petit de la Croix (*Hist. de Ghenghizcan*).

‡ In his great History of the Huns, M. De Guignes has most amply treated of Zingis Khan and his successors.

§ More properly Yeu-Ring, an ancient city, whose ruins still appear some furlongs to the south-east of the modern *Pekin*, which was built by Cublai Khan (Gaubel). Peking and Nanking are vague titles, the Courts of the North and of the South.

Persian historians relate the sieges and reduction of many cities, and the conquests of the rich and populous countries of Transoxiana, Carizme, and Chorasán. Mahommed expired unpitied in an island of the Caspian Sea; but if the Carizmian empire could have been saved by a single hero, it would have been by his son Gelaleddin, whose valour repeatedly checked the Moguls, but who was at last oppressed by their innumerable host. Two of the generals of Zingis, whom he sent to subdue the western provinces of Persia, penetrated through the gates of Derbend, traversed the Volga, and accomplished the circuit of the Caspian Sea, by an expedition which had never been attempted, and has never been repeated.

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Zingis died in the fulness of years and glory, in 1227, exhorting his sons to complete the conquest of China. Those sons were not more distinguished for their high birth, than for their prudent conduct. They seconded their father in all his undertakings, and they possessed a merit very unusual in that age, and in those climes. The four brothers continued to act in unison: Tonchi, Tagatai, and Tuli, were content with dependent sceptres, proclaiming Octai Great Khan of the Moguls and Tartars. In sixty-eight years, the Moguls, under the successors of Zingis, subdued almost all Asia, and a large portion of Europe. Cublai, one of his grandsons, completed the conquest of China. The invasion of Japan was prevented by his fleet being twice shipwrecked; but the circumjacent kingdoms of Corea, Tonkin, Cochinchina, Peju, Bengal, and Thibet, were reduced in different degrees of tribute and obedience.

The conquest of Indostan was reserved for the house of Timour, but that of Persia was achieved by Holagou, another of the grandsons of Zingis. The extinction of the Abbassides, which soon followed,

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cannot be indifferent to the spectators of their greatness and decline. Since the fall of their Seljukian tyrant, the caliphs had recovered the dominion of Bagdad, and the Arabian Irak; but when Holagou touched this phantom of power, it vanished into smoke. Bagdad was stormed by the Moguls, and their commander pronounced the death of the caliph Motassem; the last of the temporal successors of Mahommed, whose kinsmen of the race of Abbas had reigned above five hundred years. The Moguls pillaged Aleppo and Damascus. Egypt was successfully defended by the Mamelukes, but Armenia and Anatolia were subdued, Iconium was taken, and the last remains of the Seljukian dynasty were extirpated.

Another of the grandsons of Zingis, Batou the son of Tuli, who ruled his father's conquests to the north of the Caspian, at the head of 500,000 Moguls and Tartars, in less than six years measured a line of ninety degrees of longitude, a fourth part of the circumference of the globe. The Volga and Rama, the Don and Borysthenes, the Vistula and Danube, were passed on the ice or in leathern boats, or swam with their horses. Every thing in Asia sank beneath the arms of Batou. The civil discord of the great dukes of Russia betrayed their country to the Tartars. They spread from Livonia to the Black Sea; Moscow and Kiow were reduced to ashes. They made a deadly, though a transient inroad, into the heart of Poland, and as far as the borders of Germany. The cities of Lublin and Cracow were obliterated, and they approached the shores of the Baltic. In the battle of Lignitz they defeated the dukes of Siberia, the Polish palatines, and the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, and filled nine sacks with the right ears of the slain. From Lignitz, the extreme boundary of their Western march, they turned to the invasion of Hungary. The king, Beld, was defeated,

the whole country north of the Danube was depopulated, and the river was passed on the ice. Beld fled to the islands of the Adriatic; and Batou, after laying waste the kingdoms of Servia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria, slowly returned from the Danube to the Volga, to enjoy the rewards of his victory in the city and palace of Serai, which started at his command from the midst of the desert. Even the frozen regions of the North attracted the arms of the Moguls. Sheiboni, the brother of Batou, advanced to the Icy Sea, to the neighbourhood of the Samoyedes; and his descendants reigned at Tabolskay during three centuries, till the Russian conquest.

In this shipwreck of nations, some surprise may be excited by the escape of the Roman empire, whose relics, at the time of the Mogul invasion, were dismembered by the Greeks and Latins. Less potent than Alexander, they were pressed, like the Macedonian, both in Europe and Asia, by the shepherds of Scythia; and had the Tartars undertaken the siege, Constantinople must have yielded to the fate of Pekin, Samarcand, and Bagdad. The glorious and voluntary retreat of Batou from the Danube was insulted by the vain triumph of the Franks and Greeks*; and in a second expedition death surprised him in full march to attack the capital of the Cæsars. His brother Borga carried the Tartar arms into Bulgaria and Thrace; but he was diverted from the Byzantine war by a visit to Novogorod, in the fifty-seventh degree of latitude, where he numbered the inhabitants and regulated the tributes of Russia. The Mogul khan formed an alliance with the Mamalukes against his brethren of Persia: three hundred thousand horse penetrated through the gates of Der-

Escape of
Constantinople and
the Greek
empire from
the Moguls,
A.D. 1240
—1304.

* Some repulse of the Moguls in Hungary (Matthew Paris, p. 545, 546) might propagate and colour the report of the union and victory of the kings of the Franks on the confines of Bulgaria. Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 310), after forty years, beyond the Tigris, might be easily deceived.

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bend; and the Greeks might rejoice in the first example of domestic war. After the recovery of Constantinople, Michael Palæologus *, at a distance from his court and army, was surprised and surrounded, in a Thracian castle, by twenty thousand Tartars. But the object of their march was a private interest: they came to the deliverance of Azadin, the Turkish sultan; and were content with his person and the treasure of the emperor. Their general Noga, whose name is perpetuated in the hordes of Astracan, raised a formidable rebellion against Mengo Timour, the third of the khans of Kipzak; obtained in marriage Maria, the natural daughter of Palæologus; and guarded the dominions of his friend and father. The subsequent invasions of a Scythian cast were those of outlaws and fugitives; and some thousands of Alani and Comans, who had been driven from their native seats, were reclaimed from a vagrant life, and inlisted in the service of the empire. Such was the influence in Europe of the invasion of the Moguls. The first terror of their arms secured, rather than disturbed, the peace of the Roman Asia. The sultan of Iconium solicited a personal interview with John Vataces; and his artful policy encouraged the Turks to defend their barrier against the common enemy†. That barrier indeed was soon overthrown; and the servitude and ruin of the Seljukians exposed the nakedness of the Greeks. The formidable Holagou threatened to march to Constantinople at the head of four hundred thousand men; and the groundless panic of the citizens of Nice will present an image of the terror which he had inspired. The accident of a procession, and the sound of a doleful litany, "From the fury of the Tartars, good Lord, deliver us," had scattered

* See Pachymer, l. iii. c. 25, and l. ix. c. 26, 27: and the false alarm at Nice, l. iii. c. 27. Nicephorus Gregoras, l. iv. c. 6.

† G. Acropolita, p. 36, 37. Nic. Greg. l. ii. c. 6. l. iv. c. 5:

the hasty report of an assault and massacre. In the blind credulity of fear, the streets of Nice were crowded with thousands of both sexes, who knew not from what or to whom they fled; and some hours elapsed before the firmness of the military officers could relieve the city from this imaginary foe. But the ambition of Holagou and his successors was fortunately diverted by the conquest of Bagdad, and a long vicissitude of Syrian wars: their hostility to the Moslems inclined them to unite with the Greeks and Franks*; and their generosity or contempt had offered the kingdom of Anatolia as the reward of an Armenian vassal. The fragments of the Seljukian monarchy were disputed by the emirs who had occupied the cities or the mountains; but they all confessed the supremacy of the khans of Persia; and he often interposed his authority, and sometimes his arms, to check their depredations, and to preserve the peace and balance of his Turkish frontier. The death of Cazan†, one of the greatest and most accomplished princes of the house of Zingis, removed this salutary control; and the decline of the Moguls gave a free scope to the rise and progress of the OTTOMAN EMPIRE‡.

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Decline of
the Mogul
khans of
Persia,
A. D. 1304,
May 11.

After the retreat of Zingis, the sultan Gelaledin of Carizme had returned from India to the possession and defence of his Persian kingdoms. In the space of eleven years, that hero fought in person fourteen battles; and such was his activity, that he led his cavalry in seventeen days from Teflis to Kerman, a march of a thousand miles. Yet he was oppressed

Origin of
the Otto-
mans,
A.D. 1240,
&c.

* Abulpharagius, who wrote in the year 1284, declares that the Moguls, since the fabulous defeat of Batou, had not attacked either the Franks or Greeks; and of this he is a competent witness. Hayton, likewise, the Armenian prince, celebrates their friendship for himself and his nation.

† Pachmer gives a splendid character of Cazan Khan, the rival of Cyrus and Alexander (l. xii. c. 1). In the conclusion of his history (l. xviii. c. 36), he hopes much from the arrival of 30,000 Tochars or Tartars, who were ordered by the successor of Cazan to restrain the Turks of Bithynia, A.D. 1308.

‡ The origin of the Ottoman dynasty is illustrated by the critical learning of M. M. de Gulnes (Hist. des Huns, tom. iv. p. 329—337) and D'Anville (Empire Turc. p. 14—22), two inhabitants of Paris, from whom the Orientals may learn the history and geography of their own country.

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Reign of
Othman,
A. D. 1299
—1326.

by the jealousy of the Moslem princes, and the innumerable armies of the Moguls; and after his last defeat, Gelaleddin perished ignobly in the mountains of Curdistan. His death dissolved a veteran and adventurous army, which included, under the name of Carizmians or Corasmins, many Turkman hordes, that had attached themselves to the sultan's fortune. The bolder and more powerful chiefs invaded Syria, and violated the holy sepulchre of Jerusalem: the more humble engaged in the service of Aladin, sultan of Iconium; and among these were the obscure fathers of the Ottoman line. They had formerly pitched their tents near the southern banks of the Oxus, in the plains of Mahan and Nesa; and it is somewhat remarkable, that the same spot should have produced the first authors of the Parthian and Turkish empires. At the head, or in the rear, of a Karismian army, Soliman Shah was drowned in the passage of the Euphrates: his son Orthogrul became the soldier and subject of Aladin, and established at Surgut, on the banks of the Sangar, a camp of four hundred families or tents, whom he governed fifty two years both in peace and war. He was the father of Thaman, or Athman, whose Turkish name has been melted into the appellation of the caliph Othman; and if we describe that pastoral chief as a shepherd and a robber, we must separate from those characters all idea of ignominy and baseness. Othman possessed, and perhaps surpassed, the ordinary virtues of a soldier; and the circumstances of time and place were propitious to his independence and success. The Seljukian dynasty was no more; and the distance and decline of the Mogul khans soon enfranchised him from the control of a superior. He was situate on the verge of the Greek empire: the Koran sanctified his *gazi*, or holy war, against the infidels; and their political errors unlocked the

passes of Mount Olympus, and invited him to descend into the plains of Bithynia. Till the reign of Palæologus, these passes had been vigilantly guarded by the militia of the country, who were repaid by their own safety and an exemption from taxes. The emperor abolished their privilege and assumed their office; but the tribute was rigorously collected, the custody of the passes was neglected, and the hardy mountaineers degenerated into a trembling crowd of peasants, without spirit or discipline. It was on the twenty-seventh of July, in the year twelve hundred and ninety-nine of the Christian æra, that Othman first invaded the territory of Nicomedia*; and the singular accuracy of the date seems to disclose some foresight of the rapid and destructive growth of the monster. The annals of the twenty-seven years of his reign would exhibit a repetition of the same inroads; and his hereditary troops were multiplied in each campaign by the accession of captives and volunteers. Instead of retreating to the hills, he maintained the most useful and defensible posts; fortified the towns and castles which he had first pillaged; and renounced the pastoral life for the baths and palaces of his infant capitals. But it was not till Othman was oppressed by age and infirmities, that he received the welcome news of the conquest of Prusa, which had been surrendered by famine or treachery to the arms of his son Orchan. The glory of Othman is chiefly founded on that of his descendants; but the Turks have transcribed or composed a royal testament of his last counsels of justice and moderation†.

From the conquest of Prusa; we may date the

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Reign of
Orchan,
A. D. 1326
—1360.

* See Pachymer, l. x. c. 25, 26. l. xiii. c. 33, 34, 36.

† I am ignorant whether the Turks have any writers older than Mahomet II. nor can I reach beyond a meagre chronicle (*Annales Turcici ad Annum 1550*), translated by John Gaudier, and published by Leunclavius (*ad calcem Laonic. Chalcond. p. 311—350*), with copious pandects, or commentaries.

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true era of the Ottoman empire. The lives and possessions of the Christian subjects were redeemed by a tribute or ransom of thirty thousand crowns of gold; and the city, by the labours of Orchan, assumed the aspect of a Mahometan capital. Prusa was decorated with a mosch, a college, and an hospital of royal foundation; the Seljukian coin was changed for the name and impression of the new dynasty; and the most skilful professors of human and divine knowledge attracted the Persian and Arabian students from the ancient schools of Oriental learning. The office of vizir was instituted for Aladin, the brother of Orchan: and a different habit distinguished the citizens from the peasants, the Moslems from the infidels. All the troops of Othman had consisted of loose squadrons of Turkman cavalry, who served without pay and fought without discipline: but a regular body of infantry was first established and trained by the prudence of his son. A great number of volunteers were enrolled with a small stipend, but with the permission of living at home, unless they were summoned to the field: their rude manners, and seditious temper, disposed Orchan to educate his young captives as his soldiers and those of the prophet; but the Turkish peasants were still allowed to mount on horseback, and follow his standard, with the appellation and the hopes of *freebooters*. By these arts he formed an army of twenty-five thousand Moslems: a train of battering engines was framed for the use of sieges; and the first successful experiment was made on the cities of Nice and Nicomedia. Orchan granted a safe-conduct to all who were desirous of departing with their families and effects; but the widows of the slain were given in marriage to the conquerors; and the sacrilegious plunder, the books, the vases, and the images, were sold or ransomed at Constantinople. The emperor An-

His conquest of
Bithynia,
A.D. 1326.
—1339.

dronicus the younger was vanquished and wounded by the son of Othman : he subdued the whole province or kingdom of Bithynia, as far as the shores of the Bosphorus and Hellespont ; and the Christians confessed the justice and clemency of a reign, which claimed the voluntary attachment of the Turks of Asia. Yet Orchan was content with the modest title of emir ; and in the list of his compeers, the princes of Roum or Anatolia, his military forces were surpassed by the emirs of Ghermian and Carmania, each of whom could bring into the field an army of forty thousand men. Their dominions were situate in the heart of the Seljukian kingdom : but the holy warriors, though of inferior note, who formed new principalities on the Greek empire, are more conspicuous in the light of history. The maritime country from the Propontis to the Mæander and the isle of Rhodes, so long threatened and so often pillaged, was finally lost about the thirtieth year of Andronicus the elder*. Two Turkish chieftains, Sarukhan and Aidin, left their names to their conquests, and their conquests to their posterity. The ruin of the churches of Asia was consummated ; and the barbarous lords of Ionia and Lydia still trample on the monuments of classic and Christian antiquity. The servitude of Rhodes was delayed about two centuries, by the establishment of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem† : under the discipline of the order, that island emerged into fame and opulence ; the noble and warlike monks were renowned by land and sea : and the bulwark of Christendom provoked, and repelled, the arms of the Turks and Saracens.

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Division of
Anatolia
among the
Turkish
emirs,
A.D. 1300,
&c.

Loss of the
Asiatic
provinces,
A. D. 1312
&c.
The knights
of Rhodes,
A. D. 1310,
Aug. 15—
A. D. 1523,
Jan. 1.

The Greeks, by their intestine divisions, were the authors of their final ruin. During the civil wars of

First passage
of the Turks
into Europe,
A. D. 1341
—1347.

* Pachymer, l. xiii. c. 13.

† Consult the 14th book of the *Histoire de l'Ordre de Malthe*, par l'Abbe de Vertot.

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the elder and younger Andronicus, the son of Othman achieved, almost without resistance, the conquest of Bithynia ; and the same disorders encouraged the Turkish emirs of Lydia and Ionia to build a fleet, and to pillage the adjacent islands and the sea-coast of Europe. In the defence of his life and honour, Cantacuzene was tempted to prevent, or imitate, his adversaries, by calling to his aid the public enemies of his religion and country. Amir, the son of Aidin, concealed under a Turkish garb the humanity and politeness of a Greek : he was united with the great domestic by mutual esteem and reciprocal services ; and their friendship is compared, in the vain rhetoric of the times, to the perfect union of Orestes and Pylades. On the report of the danger of his friend, who was persecuted by an ungrateful court, the prince of Ionia assembled at Smyrna a fleet of three hundred vessels, with an army of twenty-nine thousand men ; sailed in the depth of winter, and cast anchor at the mouth of the Hebrus. From thence, with a chosen band of two thousand Turks, he marched along the banks of the river, and rescued the empress, who was besieged in Demotica by the wild Bulgarians. At that disastrous moment, the life or death of his beloved Cantacuzene was concealed by his flight into Servia ; but the grateful Irene, impatient to behold her deliverer, invited him to enter the city, and accompanied her message with a present of rich apparel and a hundred horses. By a peculiar strain of delicacy, the gentle Barbarian refused, in the absence of an unfortunate friend, to visit his wife, or to taste the luxuries of the palace ; sustained in his tent the rigour of the winter ; and rejected the hospitable gift, that he might share the hardships of two thousand companions, all as deserving as himself of that honour of distinction. Necessity and revenge might justify his predatory excursions by sea and land : he left nine

thousand five hundred men for the guard of his fleet; and persevered in the fruitless search of Cantacuzene, till his embarkation was hastened by a fictitious letter, the severity of the season, the clamours of his independent troops, and the weight of his spoil and captives. In the prosecution of the civil war, the prince of Ionia twice returned to Europe; joined his arms with those of the emperor; besieged Thessalonica, and threatened Constantinople. Calumny might affix some reproach on his imperfect aid, his hasty departure, and a bribe of ten thousand crowns, which he accepted from the Byzantine court: but his friend was satisfied; and the conduct of Amir is excused by the more sacred duty of defending against the Latins his hereditary dominions. The maritime power of the Turks had united the pope, the king of Cyprus, the republic of Venice, and the order of St. John, in a laudable crusade: their galleys invaded the coast of Ionia; and Amir was slain with an arrow, in the attempt to wrest from the Rhodian knights the citadel of Smyrna. Before his death, he generously recommended another ally of his own nation; not more sincere or zealous than himself, but more able to afford a prompt and powerful succour, by his situation along the Propontis and in the front of Constantinople. By the prospect of a more advantageous treaty, the Turkish prince of Bithynia was detached from his engagements with Anne of Savoy; and the pride of Orchan dictated the most solemn protestations, that if he could obtain the daughter of Cantacuzene, he would invariably fulfil the duties of a subject and a son. Parental tenderness was silenced by the voice of ambition; the Greek clergy connived at the marriage of a Christian princess with a sectary of Mahomet; and the father of Theodore describes, with shameful satisfaction, the dishonour of the purple. A body of Turkish cavalry attended the ambassadors,

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Marriage of
Orchan with
a Greek
princess,
A. D. 1346.

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who disembarked from thirty vessels before his camp of Selybria. A stately pavilion was erected, in which the empress Irene passed the night with her daughters. In the morning, Theodora ascended a throne, which was surrounded with curtains of silk and gold; the troops were under arms; but the emperor alone was on horseback. At a signal the curtains were suddenly withdrawn, to disclose the bride, or the victim, encircled by kneeling eunuchs and hymenæal torches: the sound of flutes and trumpets proclaimed the joyful event; and her pretended happiness was the theme of the nuptial song, which was chanted by such poets as the age could produce. Without the rites of the church, Theodora was delivered to her barbarous lord; but it had been stipulated, that she should preserve her religion in the haram of Bursa; and her father celebrates her charity and devotion in this ambiguous situation. After his peaceful establishment on the throne of Constantinople, the Greek emperor visited his Turkish ally, who, with four sons, by various wives, expected him at Scutari, on the Asiatic shore. The two princes partook, with seeming cordiality, of the pleasures of the banquet and the chase; and Theodora was permitted to repass the Bosphorus, and to enjoy some days in the society of her mother. But the friendship of Orchan was subservient to his religion and interest; and in the Genoese war he joined without a blush the enemies of Cantacuzene.

Establish-
ment of the
Ottomans in
Europe,
A.D. 1353.

In the treaty with the empress Anne, the Ottoman prince had inserted a singular condition, that it should be lawful for him to sell his prisoners at Constantinople, or transport them into Asia. A naked crowd of Christians, of both sexes and every age, of priests and monks, of matrons and virgins, was exposed in the public market: the whip was frequently used to quicken the charity of redemption; and the indigent Greeks deplored the fate of their brethren, who were

led away to the worst evils of temporal and spiritual bondage. Cantacuzene was reduced to subscribe the same terms; and their execution must have been still more pernicious to the empire: a body of ten thousand Turks had been detached to the assistance of the empress Anne; but the entire forces of Orchan were exerted in the service of his father. Yet these calamities were of a transient nature: as soon as the storm had passed away, the fugitives might return to their habitations; and at the conclusion of the civil and foreign wars, Europe was completely evacuated by the Moslems of Asia. It was in his last quarrel with his pupil that Cantacuzene inflicted the deep and deadly wound, which could never be healed by his successors, and which is poorly expiated by his theological dialogues against the prophet Mahomet. Ignorant of their own history, the modern Turks confound their first and their final passage of the Hellespont*, and describe the son of Orchan as a nocturnal robber, who, with eighty companions, explores by stratagem a hostile and unknown shore. Soliman, at the head of ten thousand horse, was transported in the vessels, and entertained as the friend, of the Greek emperor. In the civil wars of Rumania, he performed some service, and perpetrated more mischief; but the Chersonesus was insensibly filled with a Turkish colony; and the Byzantine court solicited in vain the restitution of the fortresses of Thrace. After some artful delays between the Ottoman prince and his son, their ransom was valued at sixty thousand crowns, and the first payment had been made, when an earthquake shook the walls and cities of the provinces; the dismantled places were

* In this passage, and the first conquests in Europe, Cantemir (p. 27, &c.) gives a miserable idea of his Turkish guides: nor am I much better satisfied with Chalcondyles (l. i. p. 12, &c.) They forget to consult the most authentic record, the fourth book of Cantacuzene. I likewise regret the last books, which are still manuscript, of Nicephorus Gregoras.

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Death of
Orchan and
his son So-
liman.

The reign
and Euro-
pean con-
quests of
Amurath I.,
A.D. 1360
— 1389,
September.

occupied by the Turks ; and Gallipoli, the key of the Hellespont, was rebuilt and repopled by the policy of Soliman. The abdication of Cantacuzene dissolved the feeble bands of domestic alliance ; and his last advice admonished his countrymen to decline a rash contest, and to compare their own weakness with the numbers and valour, the discipline and enthusiasm, of the Moslems. His prudent counsels were despised by the headstrong vanity of youth, and soon justified by the victories of the Ottomans.

But as he practised in the field the exercise of the *jerid*, Soliman was killed by a fall from his horse ; and the aged Orchan wept and expired on the tomb of his valiant son.

But the Greeks had not time to rejoice in the death of their enemies ; and the Turkish scimitar was wielded with the same spirit by Amurath the First, the son of Orchan and the brother of Soliman. By the pale and fainting light of the Byzantine annals *, we can discern, that he subdued without resistance the whole province of Romania or Thrace, from the Hellespont to mount Hæmus, and the verge of the capital ; and that Adrianople was chosen for the royal seat of his government and religion in Europe. Constantinople, whose decline is almost coeval with her foundation, had often, in the lapse of a thousand years, been assaulted by the Barbarians of the East and West ; but never till this fatal hour had the Greeks been surrounded, both in Asia and Europe, by the arms of the same hostile monarchy. Yet the prudence or generosity of Amurath postponed for a while this easy conquest ; and his pride was satisfied with the frequent and humble attendance of the emperor John Palæologus and his four sons, who

* After the conclusion of Cantacuzene and Gregoras, there follows a dark interval of a hundred years. George Pharanza, Michael Ducas, and Laonicus Chalcondyles, all three wrote after the taking of Constantinople.

followed at his summons the court and camp of the Ottoman prince. He marched against the Slavonian nations between the Danube and the Adriatic, the Bulgarians, Servians, Bosnians, and Albanians; and these warlike tribes, who had so often insulted the majesty of the empire, were repeatedly broken by his destructive inroads. Their countries did not abound either in gold or silver; nor were their rustic hamlets and townships enriched by commerce, or decorated by the arts of luxury. But the natives of the soil have been distinguished in every age by their hardiness of mind and body; and they were converted by a prudent institution into the firmest and most faithful supporters of the Ottoman greatness*. The vizir of Amurath reminded his sovereign, that, according to the Mahometan law, he was entitled to a fifth part of the spoil and captives; and that the duty might easily be levied, if vigilant officers were stationed at Gallipoli, to watch the passage, and to select for his use the stoutest and most beautiful of the Christian youth. The advice was followed; the edict was proclaimed; many thousands of the European captives were educated in religion and arms; and the new militia was consecrated and named by a celebrated dervish. Standing in the front of their ranks, he stretched the sleeve of his gown over the head of the foremost soldier, and his blessing was delivered in these words: "Let them be called janizaries (*Yengi cheri*, or new soldiers); may their countenance be ever bright! their hand victorious! their sword keen! may their spear always hang over the heads of their enemies! and wheresoever they go, may they return with a *white face*!" Such was the origin of these haughty troops, the terror of the nations, and sometimes of the sultans themselves. Their valour has declined, their discipline is relaxed,

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The Janizaries.

* See Cantemir, p. 37—41, with his own large and curious annotations.

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and their tumultuary array is incapable of contending with the order and weapons of modern tactics ; but, at the time of their institution, they possessed a decisive superiority in war ; since a regular body of infantry, in constant exercise and pay, was not maintained by any of the princes of Christendom. The Janizaries fought with the zeal of proselytes against their *idolatrous* countrymen ; and in the battle of Cossova, the league and independence of the Slavonian tribes was finally crushed. As the conqueror walked over the field, he observed that the greatest part of the slain consisted of beardless youths ; and listened to the flattering reply of his vizir, that age and wisdom would have taught them not to oppose his irresistible arms. But the sword of his Janizaries could not defend him from the dagger of despair ; a Servian soldier started from the crowd of dead bodies, and Amurath was pierced in the belly with a mortal wound. The grandson of Othman was mild in his temper, modest in his apparel, and a lover of learning and virtue : but the Moslems were scandalized at his absence from public worship ; and he was corrected by the firmness of the mufti, who dared to reject his testimony in a civil cause ; a mixture of servitude and freedom not unfrequent in Oriental history.

The reign of
Bajazet I.
Ilderim,
A. D. 1389
—1403,
March 9.

The character of Bajazet, the son and successor of Amurath, is strongly expressed in his surname of *Ilderim*, or the lightning ; and he might glory in an epithet, which was drawn from the fiery energy of his soul and the rapidity of his destructive march. In the fourteen years of his reign *, he incessantly moved at the head of his armies, from Bursa to Adrianople, from the Danube to the Euphrates ; and, though he

* The reign of Bajazet I. or Ilderim Bayazid, is contained in Cantemir (p. 46), the second book of Chalcondyles, and the *Annales Turcici*. The surname of *Ilderim*, or lightning, is an example, that the conquerors and poets of every age have felt the truth of a system which derives the sublime from the principle of terror.

strenuously laboured for the propagation of the law, he invaded, with impartial ambition, the Christian and Mahometan princes of Europe and Asia. From Angora to Amasia and Erzeroum, the northern regions of Anatolia were reduced to his obedience: he stripped of their hereditary possessions his brother emirs of Ghermian and Caramania, of Aidin and Sarukhan; and after the conquest of Iconium, the ancient kingdom of the Seljukians again revived in the Ottoman dynasty. Nor were the conquests of Bajazet less rapid or important in Europe. No sooner had he imposed a regular form of servitude on the Serbians and Bulgarians, than he passed the Danube to seek new enemies and new subjects in the heart of Moldavia. Whatever yet adhered to the Greek empire in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, acknowledged a Turkish master: an obsequious bishop led him through the gates of Thermopylæ into Greece; and we may observe, as a singular fact, that the widow of a Spanish chief, who possessed the ancient seat of the oracle of Delphi, deserved his favour by the sacrifice of a beauteous daughter. The Turkish communication between Europe and Asia had been dangerous and doubtful, till he stationed at Gallipoli a fleet of galleys, to command the Hellespont and intercept the Latin succours of Constantinople. While the monarch indulged his passions in a boundless range of injustice and cruelty, he imposed on his soldiers the most rigid laws of modesty and abstinence; and the harvest was peaceably reaped and sold within the precincts of his camp. Provoked by the loose and corrupt administration of justice, he collected in a house the judges and lawyers of his dominions, who expected that in a few moments the fire would be kindled to reduce them to ashes. His ministers trembled in silence; but an Æthiopian buffoon presumed to insinuate the true cause of the

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His conquests, from the Euphrates to the Danube.

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Battle of
Nicopolis,
A.D. 1396,
Sept. 28.

evil ; and future venality was left without excuse, by annexing an adequate salary to the office of cadhi. The humble title of emir was no longer suitable to the Ottoman greatness ; and Bajazet condescended to accept a patent of sultan from the caliphs who served in Egypt under the yoke of the Mamalukes : a last and frivolous homage that was yielded by force to opinion ; by the Turkish conquerors to the house of Abbas and the successors of the Arabian prophet. The ambition of the sultan was inflamed by the obligation of deserving this august title ; and he turned his arms against the kingdom of Hungary, the perpetual theatre of the Turkish victories and defeats. Sigismond, the Hungarian king, was the son and brother of the emperors of the West : his cause was that of Europe and the church ; and on the report of his danger, the bravest knights of France and Germany were eager to march under his standard and that of the cross. In the battle of Nicopolis, Bajazet defeated a confederate army of a hundred thousand Christians, who had proudly boasted, that, if the sky should fall, they could uphold it on their lances. The far greater part were slain or driven into the Danube ; and Sigismond, escaping to Constantinople by the river and the Black Sea, returned after a long circuit to his exhausted kingdom. In the pride of victory Bajazet threatened that he would besiege Buda ; that he would subdue the adjacent countries of Germany and Italy ; and that he would feed his horse with a bushel of oats on the altar of St. Peter at Rome. His progress was checked by a long and painful fit of the gout. The disorders of the moral are sometimes corrected by those of the physical world ; and an acrimonious humour falling on a single fibre of one man, may prevent or suspend the misery of nations.

Such is the general idea of the Hungarian war ;

but the disastrous adventure of the French has procured us some memorials which illustrate the victory and character of Bajazet. The duke of Burgundy, sovereign of Flanders, and uncle of Charles the Sixth, yielded to the ardour of his son, John count of Nevers ; and the fearless youth was accompanied by four princes, *his* cousins, and those of the French monarch. Their inexperience was guided by the sire de Coucy, one of the best and oldest captains of Christendom ; but the constable, admiral, and marshal of France * commanded an army which did not exceed the number of a thousand knights and squires. These splendid names were the source of presumption and the bane of discipline. So many might aspire to command, that none were willing to obey : their national spirit despised both their enemies and their allies ; and in the persuasion that Bajazet *would* fly, or *must* fall, they began to compute how soon they should visit Constantinople, and deliver the holy sepulchre. When their scouts announced the approach of the Turks, the gay and thoughtless youths were at table, already heated with wine : they instantly clasped their armour, mounted their horses, rode full speed to the vanguard, and resented as an affront the advice of Sigismond, which would have deprived them of the right and honour of the foremost attack. The battle of Nicopolis would not have been lost, if the French would have obeyed the prudence of the Hungarians ; but it might have been gloriously won, had the Hungarians imitated the valour of the French. They dispersed the first line, consisting of the troops of Asia ; forced a rampart of stakes, which had been planted against the cavalry ; broke, after a bloody conflict,

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Crusade and
captivity of
the French
princes,
A.D. 1396
—1398.

* That military office, so respectable at present, was still more conspicuous when it was divided between two persons (Daniel, *Hist. de la Milice Française*, tom. ii. p. 5). One of these, the marshal of the crusade, was the famous Boucicault, who afterwards defended Constantinople, governed Genoa, invaded the coast of Asia, and died in the field of Azincour.

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the Janizaries themselves ; and were at length overwhelmed by the numerous squadrons that issued from the woods, and charged on all sides this handful of intrepid warriors. In the speed and secrecy of his march, in the order and evolutions of the battle, his enemies felt and admired the military talents of Bajazet. They accuse his cruelty in the use of victory. After reserving the count of Nevers, and four-and-twenty lords, whose birth and riches were attested by his Latin interpreters, the remainder of the French captives, who had survived the slaughter of the day, were led before his throne ; and, as they refused to abjure their faith, were successively beheaded in his presence. The sultan was exasperated by the loss of his bravest Janizaries ; and if it be true, that, on the eve of the engagement, the French had massacred their Turkish prisoners, they might impute to themselves the consequences of a just retaliation. A knight, whose life had been spared, was permitted to return to Paris, that he might relate the deplorable tale, and solicit the ransom of the noble captives. In the meanwhile, the count of Nevers, with the princes and barons of France, were dragged along in the marches of the Turkish camp, exposed as a grateful trophy to the Moslems of Europe and Asia, and strictly confined at Bursa, as often as Bajazet resided in his capital. The sultan was pressed each day to expiate with their blood the blood of his martyrs ; but he had pronounced that they should live, and either for mercy or destruction his word was irrevocable. He was assured of their value and importance by the return of the messenger, and the gifts and intercessions of the kings of France and of Cyprus. Lusignan presented him with a gold salt-cellar of curious workmanship, and of the price of ten thousand ducats ; and Charles the Sixth despatched by the way of Hungary a cast of Norwegian hawks, and six horse-loads of scarlet cloth,

of fine linen of Rheims, and of Arras tapestry, representing the battles of the great Alexander. After much delay, the effect of distance rather than of art, Bajazet agreed to accept a ransom of two hundred thousand ducats for the count of Nevers and the surviving princes and barons: the marshal Boucicault, a famous warrior, was of the number of the fortunate; but the admiral of France had been slain in the battle; and the constable, with the sire de Coucy, died in the prison of Bursa. This heavy demand, which was doubled by incidental costs, fell chiefly on the duke of Burgundy, or rather on his Flemish subjects, who were bound by the feudal laws to contribute for the knighthood and captivity of the eldest son of their lord. For the faithful discharge of the debt, some merchants of Genoa gave security to the amount of five times the sum; a lesson to those warlike times, that commerce and credit are the links of the society of nations. It had been stipulated in the treaty, that the French captives should swear never to bear arms against the person of their conqueror; but the ungenerous restraint was abolished by Bajazet himself. "I despise," said he to the heir of Burgundy, "thy oaths and thy arms. Thou art young, and mayest be ambitious of effacing the disgrace or misfortune of thy first chivalry. Assemble thy powers, proclaim thy design, and be assured that Bajazet will rejoice to meet thee a second time in the field of battle." Before their departure, they were indulged in the freedom and hospitality of the court of Bursa. The French princes admired the magnificence of the Ottoman, whose hunting and hawking equipage was composed of seven thousand huntsmen and seven thousand falconers. In their presence, and at his command, the belly of one of his chamberlains was cut open, on a complaint against him for drinking the goat's-milk of a poor woman. The strangers

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The emperor John
Palæologus,
A.D. 1355,
Jan. 8.
A.D. 1391.

were astonished by this act of justice : but it was the justice of a sultan who disdains to balance the weight of evidence, or to measure the degrees of guilt.

After his enfranchisement from an oppressive guardian, John Palæologus remained thirty-six years, the helpless, and, as it should seem, the careless, spectator of the public ruin *. Love, or rather lust, was his only passion ; and in the embraces of the wives and virgins of the city, the Turkish slave forgot the dishonour of the emperor of the *Romans*. Andronicus, his eldest son, had formed, at Adrianople, an intimate and guilty friendship with Sauzes, the son of Amurath ; and the two youths conspired against the authority and lives of their parents. The presence of Amurath in Europe soon discovered and dissipated their rash counsels ; and, after depriving Sauzes of his sight, the Ottoman threatened his vassal with the treatment of an accomplice and an enemy, unless he inflicted a similar punishment on his own son. Palæologus trembled and obeyed : and a cruel precaution involved in the same sentence the childhood and innocence of John the son of the criminal. But the operation was so mildly, or so skilfully, performed, that the one retained the sight of an eye, and the other was afflicted only with the infirmity of squinting. Thus excluded from the succession, the two princes were confined in the tower of Anema ; and the piety of Manuel, the second son of the reigning monarch, was rewarded with the gift of the Imperial crown. But at the end of two years, the turbulence of the Latins and the levity of the Greeks produced a revolution : and the two emperors were buried in the tower from whence the two prisoners were exalted to the throne. Another period of two years afforded

Discord of
the Greeks.

* For the reigns of John Palæologus and his son Manuel, from 1354 to 1402, see Ducas, c. 9—15. Phranza, l. i. c. 16—21. and the first and second books of Charcondyles, whose proper subject is drowned in a sea of episode.

Palæologus and Manuel the means of escape : it was contrived by the subtlety of a monk ; they fled to Scutari ; their adherents armed in their cause ; and the two Byzantine factions displayed the ambition and animosity with which Cæsar and Pompey had disputed the empire of the world. The Roman world was now contracted to a corner of Thrace, between the Propontis and the Black Sea, about fifty miles in length and thirty in breadth ; a space of ground not more extensive than the lesser principalities of Germany or Italy, if the remains of Constantinople had not still represented the wealth and populousness of a kingdom. To restore the public peace, it was found necessary to divide this fragment of the empire ; and while Palæologus and Manuel were left in possession of the capital, almost all that lay without the walls was ceded to the blind princes, who fixed their residence at Rhodosto and Selybria. In the tranquil slumber of royalty, the passions of John Palæologus survived his reason and his strength. Manuel, with a hundred of the noblest Greeks, was sent on a peremptory summons to the Ottoman *porte*. They served with honour in the wars of Bajazet ; but a plan of fortifying Constantinople excited his jealousy ; he threatened their lives : the new works were instantly demolished : and we shall bestow a praise, perhaps above the merit of Palæologus, if we impute this last humiliation as the cause of his death.

The earliest intelligence of that event was communicated to Manuel, who escaped with speed and secrecy from the palace of Boursa to the Byzantine throne. Bajazet affected a proud indifference at the loss of this valuable pledge ; and while he pursued his conquests in Europe and Asia, he left the emperor to struggle with his blind cousin John of Selybria, who, in eight years of civil war, asserted his right of primogeniture. At length, the ambition of the vic-

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The emperor Manuel,
A.D. 1391
—1425,
July 25.

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Distress of
Constantinople,
A.D. 1395
—1402.

torious sultan pointed to the conquest of Constantinople ; but he listened to the advice of his vizir, who represented that such an enterprise might unite the powers of Christendom in a second and more formidable crusade. His epistle to the emperor was conceived in these words : “ By the divine clemency, our “ invincible scimitar has reduced to our obedience “ almost all Asia, with many and large countries in “ Europe, excepting only the city of Constantinople : “ for beyond the walls thou hast nothing left. Resign “ that city ; stipulate thy reward ; or tremble, for thy- “ self and thy unhappy people, at the consequences “ of a rash refusal.” But his ambassadors were instructed to soften their tone, and to propose a treaty, which was subscribed with submission and gratitude. A truce of ten years was purchased by an annual tribute of thirty thousand crowns of gold : the Greeks deplored the public toleration of the law of Mahomet, and Bajazet enjoyed the glory of establishing a Turkish cadhi, and founding a royal mosch in the metropolis of the Eastern church. Yet this truce was soon violated by the restless sultan : in the cause of the prince of Selybria, the lawful emperor, an army of Ottomans again threatened Constantinople ; and the distress of Manuel implored the protection of the king of France. His plaintive embassy obtained much pity and some relief ; and the conduct of the succour was intrusted to the marshal Boucicault *, whose religious chivalry was inflamed by the desire of revenging his captivity on the infidels. He sailed with four ships of war, from Aiguesmortes to the Hellespont ; forced the passage, which was guarded by seventeen Turkish galleys ; landed at Constantinople a supply of six hundred men at arms and sixteen hundred archers ; and reviewed them in the adjacent plain, without conde-

* *Memoires du bon Messire Jean le Maingre, dit Boucicault, Maréchal de France, partie iii. c. 30, 35.*

scending to number or array the multitude of Greeks. By his presence the blockade was raised both by sea and land ; the flying squadrons of Bajazet were driven to a more respectful distance ; and several castles in Europe and Asia were stormed by the emperor and the marshal, who fought with equal valour by each other's side. But the Ottomans soon returned with an increase of numbers ; and the intrepid Boucicault, after a year's struggle, resolved to evacuate a country, which could no longer afford either pay or provisions for his soldiers. The marshal offered to conduct Manuel to the French court, where he might solicit in person a supply of men and money ; and advised in the meanwhile, that, to extinguish all domestic discord, he should leave his blind competitor on the throne. The proposal was embraced : the prince of Selybria was introduced to the capital ; and such was the public misery, that the lot of the exile seemed more fortunate than that of the sovereign. Instead of applauding the success of his vassal, the Turkish sultan claimed the city as his own ; and on the refusal of the emperor John, Constantinople was more closely pressed by the calamities of war and famine. Against such an enemy, prayers and resistance were alike unavailing ; and the savage would have devoured his prey, if, in the fatal moment, he had not been overthrown by another savage stronger than himself. By the victory of Timour, or Tamerlane, the fall of Constantinople was delayed about fifty years ; and this important, though accidental, service may justly introduce the life and character of the Mogul conqueror.

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The conquest and monarchy of the world was the first object of the ambition of Timour. To live in the memory and esteem of future ages was the second wish of his magnanimous spirit. All the civil and military transactions of his reign were diligently re-

Histories of
Timour, or
Tamerlane.

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corded in the journals of his secretaries*: the authentic narrative was revised by the persons best informed of each particular transaction; and it is believed in the empire and family of Timour, that the monarch himself composed the *commentaries* of his life, and the *institutions*† of his government. But these cares were ineffectual for the preservation of his fame, and these precious memorials in the Mogul or Persian language were concealed from the world, or at least from the knowledge of Europe. The nations which he vanquished exercised a base and impotent revenge; and ignorance has long repeated the tale of calumny, which had disfigured the birth and character, the person and even the name of *Tamerlane*‡. Yet his real merit would be enhanced, rather than debased, by the elevation of a peasant to the throne of Asia; nor can his lameness be a theme of reproach, unless he had the weakness to blush at a natural, or perhaps an honourable, infirmity.

In the eyes of the Moguls, who held the indefeasible succession of the house of Zingis, he was doubtless a rebel subject; yet he sprang from the noble tribe of Berlass: his fifth ancestor, Carashar Nevian, had been the vizir of Zagatai, in his new realm of Transoxiana; and in the ascent of some generations, the branch of Timour is confounded, at least by the

* These journals were communicated to Sherefeddin, or Cherefeddin Ali, a native of Yezd, who composed in the Persian language a history of Timour Beg, which has been translated into French by M. Petis de la Croix (Paris, 1722, in 4 vols. 12mo.) and has always been my faithful guide. His geography and chronology are wonderfully accurate; and he may be trusted for public facts, though he servilely praises the virtue and fortune of the hero. Timour's attention to procure intelligence from his own and foreign countries may be seen in the *Institutions*, p. 215, 217. 349. 351.

† I am ignorant whether the original institution, in the Turkish or Mogul language, be still extant. The Persic version, with an English translation and most valuable index, was published (Oxford, 1783, in 4to.) by the joint labours of Major Davy, and Mr. White the Arabic professor. This work has been since translated from the Persic into French (Paris, 1787) by M. Langles, a learned Orientalist, who has added the life of Timour, and many curious notes.

‡ *Demir* or *Timour* signifies, in the Turkish language, Iron; and *Beg* is the appellation of a lord or prince. By the change of a letter or accent, it is changed into *Lenc* or *Lane*; and a European corruption confounds the two words in the name of *Tamerlane*.

females, with the Imperial stem. He was born forty miles to the south of Samarcand, in the village of Sebzar, in the fruitful territory of Cash, of which his fathers were the hereditary chiefs, as well as of a toman of ten thousand horse. His birth was cast on one of those periods of anarchy which announce the fall of the Asiatic dynasties, and open a new field to adventurous ambition. The khans of Zagatai were extinct; the emirs aspired to independence; and their domestic feuds could only be suspended by the conquest and tyranny of the khans of Kashgar, who, with an army of Getes or Calmucks, invaded the Transoxian kingdom. From the twelfth year of his age, Timour had entered the field of action; in the twenty-fifth, he stood forth as the deliverer of his country; and the eyes and wishes of the people were turned towards a hero who suffered in their cause. The chiefs of the law and of the army had pledged their salvation to support him with their lives and fortunes; but in the hour of danger they were silent and afraid; and after waiting seven days on the hills of Samarcand, he retreated to the desert with only sixty horsemen. The fugitives were overtaken by a thousand Getes, whom he repulsed with incredible slaughter, and his enemies were forced to exclaim, "Timour is a wonderful man: fortune and the divine favour are with him." But in this bloody action his own followers were reduced to ten, a number which was soon diminished by the desertion of three Carizmians. He wandered in the desert with his wife, seven companions, and four horses; and sixty-two days was he plunged in a loathsome dungeon, from whence he escaped by his own courage, and the remorse of the oppressor. After swimming the broad and rapid stream of the Jihoon, or Oxus, he led, during some months, the life of a vagrant and outlaw on the borders of the adjacent states. But his fame shone

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His first
adventures,
A.D. 1361
—1370.

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brighter in adversity ; he learned to distinguish the friends of his person, the associates of his fortune, and to apply the various characters of men for their advantage, and above all, for his own. On his return to his native country, Timour was successively joined by the parties of his confederates, who anxiously sought him in the desert ; nor can I refuse to describe, in his pathetic simplicity, one of their fortunate encounters. He presented himself as a guide to three chiefs, who were at the head of seventy horse. “ When their eyes fell upon me,” says Timour, “ they were overwhelmed with joy ; and they alighted from their horses, and they came and kneeled ; and they kissed my stirrup. I also came down from my horse, and took each of them in my arms. And I put my turban on the head of the first chief ; and my girdle, rich in jewels and wrought with gold, I bound on the loins of the second ; and the third, I clothed in my own coat. And they wept, and I wept also ; and the hour of prayer was arrived, and we prayed. And we mounted our horses, and came to my dwelling ; and I collected my people, and made a feast.” His trusty bands were soon increased by the bravest of the tribes ; he led them against a superior foe ; and after some vicissitudes of war, the Getes were finally driven from the kingdom of Transoxiana. He had done much for his own glory ; but much remained to be done, much art to be exerted, and some blood to be spilt, before he could teach his equals to obey him as their master. The birth and power of emir Houssein compelled him to accept a vicious and unworthy colleague, whose sister was the best beloved of his wives. Their union was short and jealous ; but the policy of Timour, in their frequent quarrels, exposed his rival to the reproach of injustice and perfidy : and, after a small defeat, Houssein was slain by some sagacious friends,

who presumed, for the last time, to disobey the commands of their lord. At the age of thirty-four*, and in a general diet or *couroultai*, he was invested with *Imperial* command, but he affected to revere the house of Zingis; and while the emir Timour reigned over Zagatai and the East, a nominal khan served as a private officer in the armies of his servant. A fertile kingdom, five hundred miles in length and in breadth, might have satisfied the ambition of a subject; but Timour aspired to the dominion of the world; and before his death, the crown of Zagatai was one of the twenty-seven crowns which he had placed on his head. Without expatiating on the victories of thirty-five campaigns, without describing the lines of march which he repeatedly traced over the continent of Asia, I shall briefly represent his conquests in, I. Persia, II. Tartary, and, III. India; and from thence proceed to the more interesting narrative of his Ottoman war.

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He ascends
the throne of
Zagatai,
A. D. 1370,
April.

I. No sooner had Timour re-united to the patrimony of Zagatai the dependent countries of Carizme and Candahar, than he turned his eyes towards the kingdoms of Iran or Persia. Shah Mansour, prince of Fars, or the proper Persia, was one of the least powerful, but most dangerous, of his enemies. In a battle under the walls of Shiraz, he broke, with three or four thousand soldiers, the *coul* or main body of thirty thousand horse, where the emperor fought in person. No more than fourteen or fifteen guards remained near the standard of Timour: he stood firm as a rock, and received on his helmet two weighty strokes of a scimeter: the Moguls rallied; the head

His con-
quests,
A. D. 1370
—1400.
I. Of Persia,
A. D. 1380
—1393.

* The first book of Sherefeddin is employed on the private life of the hero; and he himself, or his secretary (Institutions, p. 3—77), enlarges with pleasure on the thirteen designs and enterprises which most truly constitute his personal merit. It even shines through the dark colouring of Arabshah, P. i. c. 1—12.

† The conquests of Persia, Tartary, and India, are represented in the second and third books of Sherefeddin, and by Arabshah, c. 15—35. Consult the excellent Indexes to the Institutions.

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of Mansour was thrown at his feet ; and he declared his esteem of the valour of a foe, by extirpating all the males of so intrepid a race. From Shiraz, his troops advanced to the Persian gulf ; and the richness and weakness of Ormuz were displayed in an annual tribute of six hundred thousand dinars of gold. Bagdad was no longer the city of peace, the seat of the caliphs : but the noblest conquest of Howlacou could not be overlooked by his ambitious successor ; the whole course of the Tigris and Euphrates, from the mouth to the sources of those rivers, was reduced to his obedience.

II. Of
Turkestan,
A. D. 1370
—1383.

II. A just retaliation might be urged for the invasion of Turkestan, or the eastern Tartary. The dignity of Timour could not endure the impunity of the Getes ; he passed the Sihoon, subdued the kingdom of Cashgar, and marched seven times into the heart of their country. His most distant camp was two months' journey, or four hundred and eighty leagues to the north-east of Samarcand ; and his emirs, who traversed the river Irtish, engraved in the forests of Siberia a rude memorial of their exploits. The conquest of Kipzak, or the western Tartary, was founded on the double motive of aiding the distressed, and chastising the ungrateful. Toctamish, a fugitive prince, was entertained and protected in his court ; the ambassadors of Auruss Khan were dismissed with a haughty denial, and followed on the same day by the armies of Zagatai ; and their success established Toctamish in the Mogul empire of the north. But after a reign of ten years, the new khan forgot the merits and the strength of his benefactor ; the base usurper, as he deemed him, of the sacred rights of the house of Zingis. Through the gates of Derbend, he entered Persia at the head of ninety thousand horse : with the innumerable forces of Kipzak, Bulgaria, Circassia, and Russia, he passed

the Sihoon, burnt the palaces of Timour, and compelled him, amidst the winter snows, to contend for Samarcand and his life. After a mild expostulation and a glorious victory, the emperor resolved on revenge; and by the east, and the west, of the Caspian, and the Volga, he twice invaded Kipzak with such mighty powers, that thirteen miles were measured from his right to his left wing. In a march of five months, they rarely beheld the footsteps of man; and their daily subsistence was often trusted to the fortune of the chase. At length the armies encountered each other; but the treachery of the standard-bearer, who, in the heat of action, reversed the Imperial standard of Kipzak, determined the victory of the Zagatais; and Toctamish (I speak the language of the Institutions) gave the tribe of Toushi to the wind of desolation. He fled to the Christian duke of Lithuania; again returned to the banks of the Volga; and, after fifteen battles with a domestic rival, at last perished in the wilds of Siberia. The pursuit of a flying enemy carried Timour into the tributary provinces of Russia: a duke of the reigning family was made prisoner amidst the ruins of his capital: and Yeletz, by the pride and ignorance of the Orientals, might easily be confounded with the genuine metropolis of the nation. Moscow trembled at the approach of the Tartar, but ambition and prudence recalled him to the south.

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Of Kipzak,
Russia, &c.
A.D. 1390
—1396.

III. When Timour first proposed to his princes and emirs the invasion of India or Hindostan*, he was answered by a murmur of discontent: “The rivers! and the mountains and deserts! and the soldiers clad in armour! and the elephants, de-

III. Of
Hindostan,
A. D. 1398,
—1399.

* For the Indian war, see the Institutions (p. 129—139), the fourth book of Sherefeddin, and the history of Ferishta (in Dow, vol. iii. p. 1—20), which throws a general light on the affairs of Hindostan.

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“stroyers of men ! ” But the displeasure of the emperor was more dreadful than all these terrors ; and his superior reason was convinced, that an enterprise of such tremendous aspect was safe and easy in the execution. He was informed by his spies of the weakness and anarchy of Hindostan : the Soubahs of the provinces had erected the standard of rebellion ; and the perpetual infancy of sultan Mahmood was despised even in the haram of Delhi. The Mogul army moved in three great divisions : and Timour observes with pleasure, that the ninety-two squadrons of a thousand horse most fortunately corresponded with the ninety-two names or epithets of the prophet Mahomet. Between the Jihoon and the Indus they crossed one of the ridges of mountains which are styled by the Arabian geographers “ the stony girdles of the earth.” The highland robbers were subdued or extirpated ; but great numbers of men and horses perished in the snow ; the emperor himself was let down a precipice on a portable scaffold ; the ropes were one hundred and fifty cubits in length ; and before he could reach the bottom, this dangerous operation was five times repeated. Timour crossed the Indus at the ordinary passage of Attok ; and successively traversed, in the footsteps of Alexander, the *Punjab*, or five rivers *, that fall into the master-stream. After defeating the sultan Mahmood, he entered Delhi, passed the Ganges, and penetrated to the rock of Coupele, eleven hundred miles from Calcutta.

His war
against
sultan
Bajazet,
A. D. 1400,
Sept. 1.

It was on the banks of the Ganges that Timour was informed, by his speedy messengers, of the disturbances which had arisen on the confines of Georgia

* The rivers of the Punjab, the five eastern branches of the Indus, have been laid down for the first time with truth and accuracy in Major Rennel's incomparable map of Hindostan. In his Critical Memoir he illustrates with judgment and learning the marches of Alexander and Timour.

and Anatolia, of the revolt of the Christians, and the ambitious designs of sultan Bajazet. His vigour of mind and body was not impaired by sixty-three years, and innumerable fatigues; and after enjoying some tranquil months in the palace of Samarcand, he proclaimed a new expedition of seven years into the western countries of Asia*. Between two jealous and haughty neighbours, the motives of quarrel will seldom be wanting. The Mogul and Ottoman conquests now touched each other in the neighbourhood of Erzerum and the Euphrates; nor had the doubtful limit been ascertained by time and treaty. Each of these ambitious monarchs might accuse his rival of violating his territory; of threatening his vassals; and protecting his rebels: and, by the name of rebels, each understood the fugitive princes, whose kingdoms he had usurped, and whose life or liberty he implacably pursued. In his first expedition, Timour was satisfied with the siege and destruction of Siwas or Sebaste, a strong city on the borders of Anatolia; and he revenged the indiscretion of the Ottoman, on a garrison of four thousand Armenians, who were buried alive for the brave and faithful discharge of their duty. As a Mussulman he seemed to respect the pious occupation of Bajazet, who was still engaged in the blockade of Constantinople: and after this salutary lesson, the Mogul conqueror checked his pursuit, and turned aside to the invasion of Syria and Egypt.

Timour in-
vades Syria,
A. D. 1400.

The military republic of the Mamalukes still reigned in those countries. The Syrian emirs were assembled at Aleppo to repel the invasion: they confided in the fame and discipline of the Mamalukes, in the temper of their swords and lances, of the purest steel of Damascus, in the strength of their walled cities, and in the populousness of sixty

* See the Institutions, p. 151, to the end of the 1st book, and Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 1—16), to the entrance of Timour into Syria.

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Sacks
Aleppo,
A. D. 1400,
Nov. 11;

thousand villages : and instead of sustaining a siege, they threw open their gates, and arrayed their forces in the plain. But these forces were not cemented by virtue and union ; and some powerful emirs had been seduced to desert or betray their more loyal companions. Timour's front was covered with a line of Indian elephants, whose turrets were filled with archers and Greek fire : the rapid evolutions of his cavalry completed the dismay and disorder ; the Syrian crowds fell back on each other ; many thousands were stifled or slaughtered in the entrance of the great street ; the Moguls entered with the fugitives ; and, after a short defence, the citadel, the impregnable citadel of Aleppo, was surrendered by cowardice or treachery : the streets of Aleppo streamed with blood, and re-echoed with the cries of mothers and children, with the shrieks of violated virgins. The rich plunder that was abandoned to his soldiers might stimulate their avarice : but their cruelty was enforced by the peremptory command of producing an adequate number of heads, which, according to his custom, were curiously piled in columns and pyramids. The Moguls celebrated the feast of victory, while the surviving Moslems passed the night in tears and in chains. I shall not dwell on the march of the destroyer from Aleppo to Damascus, where he was rudely encountered, and almost overthrown, by the armies of Egypt. A retrograde motion was imputed to his distress and despair : one of his nephews deserted to the enemy ; and Syria rejoiced in the tale of his defeat, when the sultan was driven by the revolt of the Mamalukes to escape with precipitation and shame to his palace of Cairo. Abandoned by their prince, the inhabitants of Damascus still defended their walls ; and Timour consented to raise the siege, if they would adorn his retreat with a gift or ransom ; each article of nine

pieces. But no sooner had he introduced himself into the city, under colour of a truce, than he perfidiously violated the treaty; imposed a contribution of ten millions of gold; and animated his troops to chastise the posterity of those Syrians who had executed, or approved, the murder of the grandson of Mahomet. A family which had given honourable burial to the head of Hosein, and a colony of artificers whom he sent to labour at Samarcand, were alone reserved in the general massacre; and, after a period of seven centuries, Damascus was reduced to ashes, because a Tartar was moved by religious zeal to avenge the blood of an Arab. The losses and fatigues of the campaign obliged Timour to renounce the conquest of Palestine and Egypt; but in his return to the Euphrates, he delivered Aleppo to the flames; and justified his pious motive by the pardon and reward of two thousand sectaries of Ali, who were desirous to visit the tomb of his son. I have expatiated on the personal anecdotes which mark the character of the Mogul hero; but I shall briefly mention *, and Bagdad, A. D. 1401, July 23, that he erected on the ruins of Bagdad a pyramid of ninety thousand heads; again visited Georgia; encamped on the banks of Araxes; and proclaimed his resolution of marching against the Ottoman emperor. Conscious of the importance of the war, he collected his forces from every province: eight hundred thousand men were enrolled on his military list; but the splendid commands of five, and ten, thousand horse may be rather expressive of the rank and pension of the chiefs, than of the genuine number of effective soldiers. In the pillage of Syria, the Moguls had acquired immense riches: but the de-

CHAP.
XLVIII.
Damascus,
A. D. 1401,
Jan. 23;

and Bagdad,
A. D. 1401,
July 23.

* The marches and occupations of Timour between the Syrian and Ottoman wars are represented by Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 29—43), and Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 15—18).

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XLVIII.Invades
Anatolia,
A. D. 1402.

livery of their pay and arrears for seven years more firmly attached them to the Imperial standard.

During this diversion of the Mogul arms, Bajazet had two years to collect his forces for a more serious encounter. They consisted of four hundred thousand horse and foot *, whose merit and fidelity were of an unequal complexion. We may discriminate the Janizaries who have been gradually raised to an establishment of forty thousand men; a national cavalry, the Spahis of modern times; twenty thousand cuirassiers of Europe, clad in black and impenetrable armour; the troops of Anatolia, whose princes had taken refuge in the camp of Timour, and a colony of Tartars, whom he had driven from Kipzak, and to whom Bajazet had assigned a settlement in the plains of Adrianople. The fearless confidence of the sultan urged him to meet his antagonist; and, as if he had chosen that spot for revenge, he displayed his banners near the ruins of the unfortunate Suvas. In the meanwhile, Timour moved from the Araxes through the countries of Armenia and Anatolia: his boldness was secured by the wisest precautions; his speed was guided by order and discipline; and the woods, the mountains, and the rivers, were diligently explored by the flying squadrons, who marked his road and preceded his standard. Firm in his plan of fighting in the heart of the Ottoman kingdom, he avoided their camp; dexterously inclined to the left; occupied Cæsarea; traversed the salt desert and the river Halys, and invested Angora: while the sultan, immovable and ignorant in his post, compared the Tartar swiftness

* Timour himself fixes at 400,000 men the Ottoman army (*Institutions*, p. 253), which is reduced to 150,000 by Phranza (*l. i. c. 29*), and swelled by the German soldier to 1,400,000. It is evident that the Moguls were the more numerous.

to the crawling of a snail : he returned on the wings of indignation to the relief of Angora ; and as both generals were alike impatient for action, the plains round that city were the scene of a memorable battle, which has immortalized the glory of Timour and the shame of Bajazet. For this signal victory, the Mogul emperor was indebted to himself, to the genius of the moment, and the discipline of thirty years. He had improved the tactics, without violating the manners, of his nation *, whose force still consisted in the missile weapons, and rapid evolutions, of a numerous cavalry. From a single troop to a great army, the mode of attack was the same ; a foremost line first advanced to the charge, and was supported in a just order by the squadrons of the great vanguard. The general's eye watched over the field, and at his command the front and rear of the right and left wings successively moved forwards in their several divisions, and in a direct or oblique line : the enemy was pressed by eighteen or twenty attacks ; and each attack afforded a chance of victory. If they all proved fruitless or unsuccessful, the occasion was worthy of the emperor himself, who gave the signal of advancing to the standard and main body, which he led in person. But in the battle of Angora, the main body itself was supported, on the flanks, and in the rear, by the bravest squadrons of the reserve, commanded by the sons and grandsons of Timour. The conqueror of Hindostan ostentatiously showed a line of elephants, the trophies, rather than the instruments, of victory : the use of the Greek fire was familiar to the Moguls and Ottomans : but had they borrowed from Europe the recent invention of gunpowder and cannon, the artificial thunder, in

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Battle of
Angora,
A. D. 1402,
July 28.

* See the Systems of Tactics in the Institutions, which the English editors have illustrated with elaborate plans (p. 373—407).

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Defeat and
captivity of
Bajazet.

the hands of either nation, must have turned the fortune of the day. In that day, Bajazet displayed the qualities of a soldier and a chief: but his genius sunk under a stronger ascendant; and from various motives, the greatest part of his troops failed him in the decisive moment. His rigour and avarice had provoked a mutiny among the Turks; and even his son Soliman too hastily withdrew from the field. The forces of Anatolia, loyal in their revolt, were drawn away to the banners of their lawful princes. His Tartar allies had been tempted by the letters and emissaries of Timour; who reproached their ignoble servitude under the slaves of their fathers; and offered to their hopes the dominion of their new, or the liberty of their ancient, country. In the right wing of Bajazet, the cuirassiers of Europe charged, with faithful hearts and irresistible arms; but these men of iron were soon broken by an artful flight and headlong pursuit: and the Janizaries, alone, without cavalry or missile weapons, were encompassed by the circle of the Mogul hunters. Their valour was at length oppressed by heat, thirst, and the weight of numbers; and the unfortunate sultan, afflicted with the gout in his hands and feet, was transported from the field on the fleetest of his horses. He was pursued and taken by the titular khan of Zagatai; and after his capture, and the defeat of the Ottoman powers, the kingdom of Anatolia submitted to the conqueror, who planted his standard at Kiotahia, and dispersed on all sides the ministers of rapine and destruction. Mirza Mahomet Sultan, the eldest and best beloved of his grandsons, was despatched to Boursa, with thirty thousand horse: and such was his youthful ardour, that he arrived with only four thousand at the gates of the capital, after performing in five days a march of two hundred and thirty miles. Yet fear is still more rapid in its course: and Soli-

man, the son of Bajazet, had already passed over to Europe with the royal treasure. The spoil, however, of the palace and city was immense : the inhabitants had escaped ; but the buildings, for the most part of wood, were reduced to ashes. From Boursa, the grandson of Timour advanced to Nice, even yet a fair and flourishing city ; and the Mogul squadrons were only stopped by the waves of the Propontis. The same success attended the other mirzas and emirs in their excursions : and Smyrna, defended by the zeal and courage of the Rhodian knights, alone deserved the presence of the emperor himself. After an obstinate defence, the place was taken by storm ; all that breathed were put to the sword ; and the heads of the Christian heroes were launched from the engines, on board of two carracks, or great ships of Europe, that rode at anchor in the harbour. The Moslems of Asia rejoiced in their deliverance from a dangerous and domestic foe, and a parallel was drawn between the two rivals by observing that Timour, in fourteen days, had reduced a fortress which had sustained seven years the siege, or at least the blockade, of Bajazet *.

The *iron cage* in which Bajazet was imprisoned by Tamerlane, so long and so often repeated as a moral lesson, is now rejected as a fable by the modern writers, who smile at the vulgar credulity. They appeal with confidence to the Persian history of Sherefeddin Ali, which has been given to our curiosity in a French version, and from which I shall collect and abridge a more specious narrative of this memorable transaction. No sooner was Timour informed that the captive Ottoman was at the door of

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The history
of his iron
cage

disproved by
the Persian
historian of
Timour :

* For the war of Anatolia or Roum, I add some hints in the Institutions, to the copious narratives of Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 44—65), and Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 20—35). On this part only of Timour's history it is lawful to quote the Turks (Cantemir, p. 53—55), Annal. Leunclav. p. 320—322), and the Greeks (Phranza, l. i. c. 29. Ducas, c. 15—17. Chalcondyles, l. iii.).

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his tent, than he graciously stepped forwards to receive him, seated him by his side, and mingled with just reproaches a soothing pity for his rank and misfortune. "Alas!" said the emperor, "the decree of fate is now accomplished by your own fault: it is the web which you have woven, the thorns of the tree which yourself have planted. I wished to spare, and even to assist, the champion of the Moslems: you braved our threats; you despised our friendship; you forced us to enter your kingdom with our invincible armies. Behold the event. Had you vanquished, I am not ignorant of the fate which you reserved for myself and my troops. But I disdain to retaliate: your life and honour are secure; and I shall express my gratitude to God by my clemency to man." The royal captive showed some signs of repentance, accepted the humiliation of a robe of honour, and embraced with tears his son Mousa, who, at his request, was sought and found among the captives of the field. The Ottoman princes were lodged in a splendid pavilion; and the respect of the guards could be surpassed only by their vigilance. On the arrival of the haram from Bursa, Timour restored the queen Despina and her daughter to their father and husband. In the feast of victory, to which Bajazet was invited, the Mogul emperor placed a crown on his head and a sceptre in his hand, with a solemn assurance of restoring him with an increase of glory to the throne of his ancestors. But the effect of this promise was disappointed by the sultan's untimely death: amidst the care of the most skilful physicians, he expired of an apoplexy at Akshehr, the Antioch of Pisidia, about nine months after his defeat. The victor dropped a tear over his grave; his body, with royal pomp, was conveyed to the mausoleum which he had erected at Bursa; and his son Mousa, after receiving a rich

present of gold and jewels, of horses and arms, was invested by a patent in red ink with the kingdom of CHAP.
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Anatolia.

Such is the portrait of a generous conqueror, which has been extracted from his own memorials, and dedicated to his son and grandson, nineteen years after his decease*; and, at a time when the truth was remembered by thousands, a manifest falsehood would have implied a satire on his real conduct. Weighty indeed is this evidence, adopted by all the Persian histories; yet flattery, more especially in the East, is base and audacious; and the harsh and ignominious treatment of Bajazet is attested by a chain of witnesses, some of whom shall be produced in the order of their time and country. 1. The reader has not forgot the garrison of French, whom the marshal Boucicault left behind him for the defence of Constantinople. They were on the spot to receive the earliest and most faithful intelligence of the overthrow of their great adversary; and it is more than probable that some of them accompanied the Greek embassy to the camp of Tamerlane. From their account, the *hardships* of the prison and death of Bajazet are affirmed by the marshal's servant and historian, within the distance of seven years†. 2. The name of Poggius the Italian is deservedly famous among the revivers of learning in the fifteenth century. His elegant dialogue on the vicissitudes of fortune was composed in his fiftieth year, twenty-eight years after the Turkish victory of Tamerlane, whom he celebrates as not inferior to the illustrious Barbarians of antiquity. Of his exploits and dis-

attested,
1. by the
French;

2. by the
Italians;

* See the History of Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 49. 52. 53. 59. 60). This work was finished at Shiraz in the year 1424, and dedicated to sultan Ibrahim, the son of Sharokh, the son of Timour, who reigned in Farsistan in his father's lifetime.

† Et fut lui meme (*Bajazet*) pris, et mené en prison, en laquelle il mourut de *dure mort*! Memoires de Boucicault, p. i. c. 37. These memoirs were composed while the marshal was still governor of Genoa, from whence he was expelled, in the year 1409, by a popular insurrection (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xii. p. 473, 474.)

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XLVIII.3. by the
Arabs ;

cipline, Poggius was informed by several ocular witnesses ; nor does he forget an example so apposite to his theme as the Ottoman monarch, whom the Scythian confined like a wild beast in an iron cage, and exhibited a spectacle to Asia. I might add the authority of two Italian chronicles, perhaps of an earlier date, which would prove at least that the same story, whether false or true, was imported into Europe with the first tidings of the revolution *. 3. At the time when Poggius flourished at Rome, Ahmed Ebn Arabshah composed at Damascus the florid and malevolent history of Timour, for which he had collected materials in his journeys over Turkey and Tartary †. Without any possible correspondence between the Latin and the Arabian writer, they agree in the fact of the iron cage ; and their agreement is a striking proof of their common veracity. Ahmed Arabshah likewise relates another outrage, which Bajazet endured, of a more domestic and tender nature. His indiscreet mention of women and divorces was deeply resented by the jealous Tartar : in the feast of victory the wine was served by female cupbearers, and the sultan beheld his own concubines and wives confounded among the slaves, and exposed without a veil to the eyes of intemperance. To escape a similar indignity, it is said that his successors, except in a single instance, have abstained from legitimate nuptials ; and the Ottoman practice and belief, at least in the sixteenth century, is attested by the observing Busbequius ‡, ambassador from the court of Vienna to the

* The *Chronicon Tarvisianum* (in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. xix. p. 800), and the *Annales Estenses* (tom. xviii. p. 974). The two authors, Andrea de Redusiis de Quero, and James de Delayto, were both contemporaries, and both chancellors, the one of Trevigi, the other of Ferrara. The evidence of the former is the most positive.

† See Arabshah, tom. ii. c. 28. 34. He travelled in regiones Rumæas, A. H. 839 (A. D. 1435, July 27), tom. ii. c. 2. p. 13.

‡ Busbequius in *Legatione Turcicâ*, epist. i. p. 52. Yet his respectable authority is somewhat shaken by the subsequent marriages of Amurath II. with a Servian, and of Mahomet II. with an Asiatic princess (*Cantemir*, p. 83. 93).

great Soliman. 4. Such is the separation of language, that the testimony of a Greek is not less independent than that of a Latin or an Arab. I suppress the names of Chaleondyles and Ducas, who flourished in a later period, and who speak in a less positive tone; but more attention is due to George Phranza *, protovestiare of the last emperors, and who was born a year before the battle of Angora. Twenty-two years after that event, he was sent ambassador to Amurath the Second; and the historian might converse with some veteran Janizaries, who had been made prisoners with the sultan, and had themselves seen him in his iron cage. 5. The last evidence, in every sense, is that of the Turkish annals, which have been consulted or transcribed by Leunclavius, Pocock, and Cantemir†. They unanimously deplore the captivity of the iron cage; and some credit may be allowed to national historians, who cannot stigmatize the Tartar without uncovering the shame of their king and country.

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XLVIII.4. by the
Greeks;5. by the
Turks.

From these opposite premises, a fair and moderate conclusion may be deduced. I am satisfied that Sherfeddin Ali has faithfully described the first ostentatious interview, in which the conqueror, whose spirits were harmonized by success, affected the character of generosity. But his mind was insensibly alienated by the unseasonable arrogance of Bajazet; the complaints of his enemies, the Anatolian princes, were just and vehement; and Timour betrayed a design of leading his royal captive in triumph to Samarcand. An attempt to facilitate his escape, by digging a mine under the tent, provoked the Mogul emperor to impose a harsher restraint; and in his perpetual marches, an iron cage on a waggon might be invented, not as

Probable
conclusion.

* See the testimony of George Phranza (l. i. c. 29), and his life in Hanckius (de Script. Byzant. p. i. c. 40). Chalcondyles and Ducas speak in general terms of Bajazet's chains.

† Annales Leunclav. p. 321. Pocock, Prolegomen. ad Abulpharag. Dynast. Cantemir, p. 55.

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Death of
Bajazet,
A. D. 1403,
March 9.

a wanton insult, but as a rigorous precaution. Timour had read in some fabulous history a similar treatment of one of his predecessors, a king of Persia ; and Bajazet was condemned to represent the person, and expiate the guilt, of the Roman Cæsar. But the strength of his mind and body fainted under the trial, and his premature death might, without injustice, be ascribed to the severity of Timour. He warred not with the dead ; a tear and a sepulchre were all that he could bestow on a captive who was delivered from his power ; and if Mousa, the son of Bajazet, was permitted to reign over the ruins of Boursa, the greatest part of the province of Anatolia had been restored by the conqueror to their lawful sovereigns.

Term of the
conquests of
Timour,
A. D. 1403.

From the Irtish and Volga to the Persian Gulf, and from the Ganges to Damascus and the Archipelago, Asia was in the hand of Timour : his armies were invincible, his ambition was boundless, and his zeal might aspire to conquer and convert the Christian kingdoms of the West, which already trembled at his name. He touched the utmost verge of the land ; but an insuperable, though narrow, sea rolled between the two continents of Europe and Asia ; and the lord of so many *tomans*, or myriads, of horse was not master of a single galley. The two passages of the Bosphorus and Hellespont, of Constantinople and Gallipoli, were possessed, the one by the Christians, the other by the Turks. On this great occasion, they forgot the difference of religion, to act with union and firmness in the common cause : the double straits were guarded with ships and fortifications ; and they separately withheld the transports which Timour demanded of either nation, under the pretence of attacking their enemy. At the same time they soothed his pride with tributary gifts and suppliant embassies, and prudently tempted him to re-

treat with the honours of victory. Soliman, the son of Bajazet, implored his clemency for his father and himself; accepted, by a red patent, the investiture of the kingdom of Romania, which he already held by the sword; and reiterated his ardent wish of casting himself in person at the feet of the king of the world. The Greek emperor (either John or Manuel) submitted to pay the same tribute which he had stipulated with the Turkish sultan, and ratified the treaty by an oath of allegiance. But the fears and fancy of nations ascribed to the ambitious Tamerlane a new design of vast and romantic compass; a design of subduing Egypt and Africa, marching from the Nile to the Atlantic Ocean, entering Europe by the Straits of Gibraltar, and, after imposing his yoke on the kingdoms of Christendom, of returning home by the deserts of Russia and Tartary. This remote, and perhaps imaginary, danger was averted by the submission of the sultan of Egypt: the honours of the prayer and the coin attested at Cairo the supremacy of Timour; and a rare gift of a *giraffe*, or camelopard, and nine ostriches, represented at Samarcand the tribute of the African world. Our imagination is not less astonished by the portrait of a Mogul, who, in his camp before Smyrna, meditates, and almost accomplishes, the invasion of the Chinese empire. Timour was urged to this enterprise by national honour. The recent expulsion of the house of Zingis was an insult on the Mogul name; and the disorders of the empire afforded the fairest opportunity for revenge. The illustrious Hongvou, founder of the dynasty of *Ming*, died four years before the battle of Angora; and his grandson, a weak and unfortunate youth, was burnt in his palace, after a million of Chinese had perished in the civil war*.

* Synopsis Hist. Sinicæ, p. 74—76 (in the 4th part of the Relations de Thevenot), Duhalde, Hist. de la Chine (tom. i. p. 507, 508, folio edition); and for

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Before he evacuated Anatolia, Timour despatched beyond the Sihoon a numerous army, or rather colony, of his old and new subjects, to open the road to subdue the Pagan Calmucks and Mungals, and to found cities and magazines in the desert; and, by the diligence of his lieutenant, he soon received a perfect map and description of the unknown regions from the source of the Irtish to the wall of China. During these preparations, the emperor achieved the final conquest of Georgia; passed the winter on the banks of the Araxes; appeased the troubles of Persia; and slowly returned to his capital, after a campaign of four years and nine months.

His triumph
at Samar-
cand,
A. D. 1404,
July—
A. D. 1405,
January 8.

On the throne of Samarcand*, he displayed, in a short repose, his magnificence and power; listened to the complaints of the people; distributed a just measure of rewards and punishments; employed his riches in the architecture of palaces and temples; and gave audience to the ambassadors of Egypt, Arabia, India, Tartary, Russia, and Spain, the last of whom presented a suit of tapestry which eclipsed the pencil of the Oriental artists. The marriage of six of the emperor's grandsons was esteemed an act of religion as well as of paternal tenderness; and the pomp of the ancient caliphs was revived in their nuptials. They were celebrated in the gardens of Canighul, decorated with innumerable tents and pavilions, which displayed the luxury of a great city and the spoils of a victorious camp. Whole forests were cut down to supply fuel for the kitchens; the plain was spread with pyramids of meat, and vases of every liquor, to which thousands of guests were courteously invited: the orders of the state, and the nations of the earth, were marshalled at the royal

the chronology of the Chinese emperors, De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. p. 71, 72.

* For the return, triumph, and death of Timour, see Sherefeddin (l. vi. c. 1—30), and Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 35—47).

banquet ; nor were the ambassadors of Europe (says the haughty Persian) excluded from the feast ; since even the *casses*, the smallest of fish, find their place in the ocean *. The public joy was testified by illuminations and masquerades ; the trades of Samarcand passed in review ; and every trade was emulous to execute some quaint device, some marvellous pageant, with the materials of their peculiar art. After the marriage contracts had been ratified by the *cadhis*, the bridegrooms and their brides retired to the nuptial chambers ; nine times, according to the Asiatic fashion, they were dressed and undressed ; and, at each change of apparel, pearls and rubies were showered on their heads, and contemptuously abandoned to their attendants. A general indulgence was proclaimed : every law was relaxed, every pleasure was allowed ; the people was free, the sovereign was idle ; and the historian of Timour may remark, that, after devoting fifty years to the attainment of empire, the only happy period of his life were the two months in which he ceased to exercise his power. But he was soon awakened to the cares of government and war. The standard was unfurled for the invasion of China ; the emirs made their report of two hundred thousand, the select and veteran soldiers of Iran and Touran ; their baggage and provisions were transported by five hundred great waggons, and an immense train of horses and camels ; and the troops might prepare for a long absence, since more than six months were employed in the tranquil journey of a caravan from Samarcand to Pekin. Neither age, nor the severity of the winter, could retard the impatience of Timour : he mounted on horseback, passed the Sihoon on the ice, marched seventy-six parasangs, three hundred

* Sherefeddin (l. vi. c. 24) mentions the ambassadors of one of the most potent sovereigns of Europe. We know that it was Henry III. king of Castile ; and the curious relation of his two embassies is still extant (Mariana, *Hist. Hispan.* l. xix. c. 11. tom. ii. p. 329, 330. *Avertissement à l'Hist. de Timur Bec*, p. 28—33).

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His death
on the road
to China,
A. D. 1405,
April 1.

miles from his capital, and pitched his last camp in the neighbourhood of Otrar, where he was expected by the angel of death. Fatigue, and the indiscreet use of iced water, accelerated the progress of his fever; and the conqueror of Asia expired in the seventieth year of his age, thirty-five years after he had ascended the throne of Zagatai. His designs were lost; his armies were disbanded; China was saved; and fourteen years after his decease, the most powerful of his children sent an embassy of friendship and commerce to the court of Pekin.

Character
and merits
of Timour.

The fame of Timour has pervaded the East and West: his posterity is still invested with the Imperial *title*; and the admiration of his subjects, who revered him almost as a deity, may be justified in some degree by the praise or confession of his bitterest enemies. Although he was lame of a hand and foot, his form and stature were not unworthy of his rank; and his vigorous health, so essential to himself and to the world, was corroborated by temperance and exercise. In his familiar discourse he was grave and modest; and if he was ignorant of the Arabic language, he spoke with fluency and elegance the Persian and Turkish idioms. It was his delight to converse with the learned on topics of history and science; and the amusement of his leisure hours was the game of chess, which he improved or corrupted with new refinements*. In his religion he was a zealous, though not perhaps an orthodox, Mussulman; but his sound understanding may tempt us to believe, that a superstitious reverence for omens and prophecies, for saints and astrologers, was only affected as an instrument of policy. In the government of a vast empire he stood alone and absolute,

* His new system was multiplied from 32 pieces and 64 squares, to 56 pieces and 110 or 130 squares. But, except in his court, the old game has been thought sufficiently elaborate. The Mogul emperor was rather pleased than hurt with the victory of a subject: a chess-player will feel the value of this encomium!

without a rebel to oppose his power, a favourite to seduce his affections, or a minister to mislead his judgment. It was his firmest maxim, that, whatever might be the consequence, the word of the prince should never be disputed or recalled ; but his foes have maliciously observed, that the commands of anger and destruction were more strictly executed than those of beneficence and favour. His sons and grandsons, of whom Timour left six-and-thirty at his decease, were his first and most submissive subjects ; and whenever they deviated from their duty, they were corrected, according to the laws of Zingis, with the bastonade, and afterwards restored to honour and command. Perhaps his heart was not devoid of the social virtues ; perhaps he was not incapable of loving his friends and pardoning his enemies. To maintain the harmony of authority and obedience, to chastise the proud, to protect the weak, to reward the deserving, to banish vice and idleness from his dominions, to secure the traveller and merchant, to restrain the depredations of the soldier, to cherish the labours of the husbandman, to encourage industry and learning, and, by an equal and moderate assessment, to increase the revenue, without increasing the taxes, are indeed the duties of a prince ; but, in the discharge of these duties, he finds an ample and immediate recompense. Timour might boast, that, at his accession to the throne, Asia was the prey of anarchy and rapine ; whilst, under his prosperous monarchy, a child, fearless and unhurt, might carry a purse of gold from the East to the West. Such was his confidence of merit, that from this reformation he derived excuse for his victories, and a title to universal dominion. The four following observations will serve to appreciate his claim to the public gratitude ; and perhaps we shall conclude, that the Mogul emperor was rather the scourge than the benefactor of mankind.

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1. If some partial disorders, some local oppressions, were healed by the sword of Timour, the remedy was far more pernicious than the disease. By their rapine, cruelty, and discord, the petty tyrants of Persia might afflict their subjects ; but whole nations were crushed under the footsteps of the reformer. The ground which had been occupied by flourishing cities was often marked by his abominable trophies, by columns, or pyramids, of human heads. Astracan, Carizme, Delhi, Ispahan, Bagdad, Aleppo, Damascus, Boursa, Smyrna, and a thousand others, were sacked, or burnt, or utterly destroyed, in his presence, and by his troops ; and perhaps his conscience would have been startled, if a priest or philosopher had dared to number the millions of victims whom he had sacrificed to the establishment of peace and order. 2. His most destructive wars were rather inroads than conquests. He invaded Turkestan, Kipzak, Russia, Hindostan, Syria, Anatolia, Armenia, and Georgia, without a hope or a desire of preserving those distant provinces. From thence he departed, laden with spoil ; but he left behind him neither troops to awe the contumacious, nor magistrates to protect the obedient natives. When he had broken the fabric of their ancient government, he abandoned them to the evils which his invasion had aggravated or caused ; nor were these evils compensated by any present or possible benefits. 3. The kingdoms of Transoxiana and Persia were the proper field which he laboured to cultivate and adorn, as the perpetual inheritance of his family. But his peaceful labours were often interrupted, and sometimes blasted, by the absence of the conqueror. While he triumphed on the Volga or the Ganges, his servants, and even his sons, forgot their master and their duty. The public and private injuries were poorly redressed by the tardy rigour of inquiry and punishment ; and we must be content to praise the

Institutions of Timour, as the specious idea of a perfect monarchy. 4. Whatsoever might be the blessings of his administration, they evaporated with his life. To reign, rather than to govern, was the ambition of his children and grandchildren*; the enemies of each other and of the people. A fragment of the empire was upheld with some glory by Sharokh, his youngest son; but, after *his* decease, the scene was again involved in darkness and blood; and before the end of a century, Transoxiana and Persia were trampled by the Uzbeks from the north, and the Turkmans of the black and white sheep. The race of Timour would have been extinct, if a hero, his descendant in the fifth degree, had not fled before the Uzbek arms to the conquest of Hindostan. His successors (the great Moguls†) extended their sway from the mountains of Cashmir to Cape Comorin, and from Candahar to the Gulf of Bengal. Since the reign of Aurungzebe, their empire has been dissolved; their treasures of Delhi have been rifled by a Persian robber; and the richest of their kingdoms is now possessed by a company of Christian merchants, of a remote island in the Northern Ocean.

Far different was the fate of the Ottoman monarchy. The massy trunk was bent to the ground, but no sooner did the hurricane pass away, than it again rose with fresh vigour and more lively vegetation. When Timour, in every sense, had evacuated Anatolia, he left the cities without a palace, a treasure, or a king. The open country was overspread with hordes of shepherds and robbers of Tartar or Turkman origin; the recent conquests of Bajazet

Civil wars
of the sons
of Bajazet,
A. D. 1403
—1421.

* Consult the last chapters of Sherefeddin and Arabshah, and M. de Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. iv. l. xx.), Fraser's *History of Nadir Shah*, p. 1—62. The story of Timour's descendants is imperfectly told; and the second and third parts of Sherefeddin are unknown.

† Shah Allum, the present Mogul, is in the fourteenth degree from Timour, by Miran Shah, his third son. See the second volume of Dow's *History of Hindostan* (1791).

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1. Mustapha;

were restored to the emirs, one of whom, in base revenge, demolished his sepulchre; and his five sons were eager, by civil discord, to consume the remnant of their patrimony. I shall enumerate their names in the order of their age and actions *. 1. It is doubtful whether I relate the story of the true Mustapha, or of an impostor, who personated that lost prince. He fought by his father's side in the battle of Angora: but when the captive sultan was permitted to inquire for his children, Mousa alone could be found; and the Turkish historians, the slaves of the triumphant faction, are persuaded that his brother was confounded among the slain. If Mustapha escaped from that disastrous field, he was concealed twelve years from his friends and enemies; till he emerged in Thessaly, and was hailed by a numerous party, as the son and successor of Bajazet. His first defeat would have been his last, had not the true, or false, Mustapha been saved by the Greeks, and restored, after the decease of his brother Mahomet, to liberty and empire. A degenerate mind seemed to argue his spurious birth; and if, on the throne of Adrianople, he was adored as the Ottoman sultan, his flight, his fetters, and an ignominious gibbet, delivered the impostor to popular contempt. A similar character and claim was asserted by several rival pretenders; thirty persons are said to have suffered under the name of Mustapha; and these frequent executions may perhaps insinuate, that the Turkish court was not perfectly secure of the death of the lawful prince. 2. After his father's captivity, Isa † reigned for some time in the neighbourhood of

2. Isa;

* The civil wars from the death of Bajazet to that of Mustapha are related according to the Turks, by Demetrius Cantemir (p. 58—82). Of the Greeks, Chalcondyles (l. iv. and v.), Phranza (l. i. c. 30—32), and Ducas (c. 18—27). The last is the most copious and best informed.

† Arabshah, tom. ii. c. 26. whose testimony on this occasion is weighty and valuable. The existence of Isa (unknown to the Turks) is likewise confirmed by Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 57).

Angora, Sinope, and the Black Sea; and his ambassadors were dismissed from the presence of Timour with fair promises and honourable gifts. But their master was soon deprived of his province and life, by a jealous brother, the sovereign of Amasia. 3. Soliman is not numbered in the lists of the Turkish emperors: yet he checked the victorious progress of the Moguls; and after their departure, united for a while the thrones of Adrianople and Boursa. In war he was brave, active, and unfortunate; his courage was softened by clemency; but it was likewise inflamed by presumption, and corrupted by intemperance and idleness. He relaxed the nerves of discipline, in a government where either the subject or the sovereign must continually tremble; his vices alienated the chiefs of the army and the law; and his daily drunkenness, so contemptible in a prince and a man, was doubly odious in a disciple of the prophet. In the slumber of intoxication he was surprised by his brother Mousa; and as he fled from Adrianople towards the Byzantine capital, Soliman was overtaken and slain in a bath, after a reign of seven years and ten months. 4. The investiture of Mousa degraded him as the slave of the Moguls: his tributary kingdom of Anatolia was confined within a narrow limit, nor could his broken militia and empty treasury contend with the hardy and veteran bands of the sovereign of Romania. Mousa fled in disguise from the palace of Boursa; traversed the Propontis in an open boat; wandered over the Walachian and Servian hills; and after some vain attempts, ascended the throne of Adrianople, so recently stained with the blood of Soliman. In a reign of three years and a half, his troops were victorious against the Christians of Hungary and the Morea; but Mousa was ruined by his timorous disposition and unseasonable clemency. After resigning the

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3. Soliman,
A. D. 1403
—1410.

4. Mousa,
A. D. 1410.

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A.D. 1413
—1421.

sovereignty of Anatolia, he fell a victim to the perfidy of his ministers, and the superior ascendant of his brother Mahomet. 5. The final victory of Mahomet was the just recompense of his prudence and moderation. Before his father's captivity, the royal youth had been intrusted with the government of Amasia, thirty days' journey from Constantinople, and the Turkish frontier against the Christians of Trebizond and Georgia. The castle, in Asiatic warfare, was esteemed impregnable; and the city of Amasia*, which is equally divided by the river Iris, rises on either side in the form of an amphitheatre, and represents on a smaller scale the image of Bâgdad. In his rapid career, Timour appears to have overlooked this obscure and contumacious angle of Anatolia; and Mahomet, without provoking the conqueror, maintained his silent independence, and chased from the province the last stragglers of the Tartar host. He relieved himself from the dangerous neighbourhood of Isa; but in the contests of their more powerful brethren, his firm neutrality was respected; till, after the triumph of Mousa, he stood forth the heir and avenger of the unfortunate Soliman. Mahomet obtained Anatolia by treaty, and Romania by arms; and the soldier who presented him with the head of Mousa was rewarded as the benefactor of his king and country. The eight years of his sole and peaceful reign were usefully employed in banishing the vices of civil discord, and restoring, on a firmer basis, the fabric of the Ottoman monarchy. His last care was the choice of two vizirs, Bajazet and Ibrahim, who might guide the youth of his son Amurath; and such was their union and prudence, that they concealed above forty days the emperor's

Reign of
Amurath II.
A. D. 1421
—1451,
Feb. 9.

* Arabshah, loc. citat. Abulfeda, Geograph. tab. xvii. p. 302. Busbequius, epist. i. p. 96, 97. in Itinere C. P. et Amasiano.

death, till the arrival of his successor in the palace of Bursa. A new war was kindled in Europe by the prince, or impostor, Mustapha; the first vizir lost his army and his head; but the more fortunate Ibrahim, whose name and family are still revered, extinguished the last pretender to the throne of Bajazet, and closed the scene of domestic hostility.

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In these conflicts, the wisest Turks, and indeed the body of the nation, were strongly attached to the unity of the empire; and Romania and Anatolia, so often torn asunder by private ambition, were animated by a strong and invincible tendency of cohesion. Their efforts might have instructed the Christian powers; and had they occupied with a confederate fleet the straits of Gallipoli, the Ottomans, at least in Europe, must have been speedily annihilated. But the schism of the West, and the factions and wars of France and England, diverted the Latins from this generous enterprise: they enjoyed the present respite, without a thought of futurity; and were often tempted by a momentary interest to serve the common enemy of their religion. A colony of Genoese*, which had been planted at Phocæa on the Ionian coast, was enriched by the lucrative monopoly of alum; and their tranquillity, under the Turkish empire, was secured by the annual payment of tribute. In the last civil war of the Ottomans, the Genoese governor, Adorno, a bold and ambitious youth, embraced the party of Amurath; and undertook, with seven stout galleys, to transport him from Asia to Europe. The sultan and five hundred guards embarked on board the admiral's ship, which was manned by eight hundred of the bravest Franks.

Re-union of
the Otto-
man empire,
A. D. 1421.

* See Pachymer (l. v. c. 29), Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ii. c. 1), Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 57), and Ducas (c. 25). The last of these, a curious and careful observer, is entitled, from his birth and station, to particular credit in all that concerns Ionia and the islands. Among the nations that resorted to New Phocæa, he mentions the English (Ἀγγλοὶ); an early evidence of the Mediterranean trade.

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His life and liberty were in their hands ; nor can we, without reluctance, applaud the fidelity of Adorno, who, in the midst of the passage, knelt before him, and gratefully accepted a discharge of his arrears of tribute. They landed in sight of Mustapha and Gallipoli ; two thousand Italians, armed with lances and battle-axes, attended Amurath to the conquest of Adrianople ; and this venal service was soon repaid by the ruin of the commerce and colony of Phocæa.

If Timour had generously marched at the request and to the relief of the Greek emperor, he might be entitled to the praise and gratitude of the Christians. But a Musulman, who carried into Georgia the sword of persecution, and respected the holy warfare of Bajazet, was not disposed to pity or succour the *idolaters* of Europe. The Tartar followed the impulse of ambition ; and the deliverance of Constantinople was the accidental consequence. When Manuel abdicated the government, it was his prayer, rather than his hope, that the ruin of the church and state might be delayed beyond his unhappy days ; and after his return from a western pilgrimage, he expected every hour the news of the sad catastrophe. On a sudden, he was astonished and rejoiced by the intelligence of the retreat, the overthrow, and the captivity of the Ottoman. Manuel* immediately sailed from Modon in the Morea ; ascended the throne of Constantinople ; and dismissed his blind competitor to an easy exile in the isle of Lesbos. The ambassadors of the son of Bajazet were soon introduced to his presence : but their pride was fallen, their tone was modest ; they were awed by the just apprehension, lest the Greeks should open to the Moguls the gates of Europe. Soliman saluted the

* For the reigns of Manuel and John, of Mahomet I. and Amurath II. see the Othman history of Cantemir (p. 70—95), and the three Greeks, Chalcondyles, Phranza, and Ducas, who is still superior to his rivals.

emperor by the name of father ; solicited at his hands the government or gift of Romania ; and promised to deserve his favour by inviolable friendship, and the restitution of Thessalonica, with the most important places along the Strymon, the Propontis, and the Black Sea. The alliance of Soliman exposed the emperor to the enmity and revenge of Moursa ; the Turks appeared in arms before the gates of Constantinople ; but they were repulsed by sea and land ; and unless the city was guarded by some foreign mercenaries, the Greeks must have wondered at their own triumph. But, instead of prolonging the division of the Ottoman powers, the policy or passion of Manuel was tempted to assist the most formidable of the sons of Bajazet. He concluded a treaty with Mahomet, whose progress was checked by the insuperable barrier of Gallipoli : the sultan and his troops were transported over the Bosphorus ; he was hospitably entertained in the capital ; and his successful sally was the first step to the conquest of Romania. The ruin was suspended by the prudence and moderation of the conqueror ; he faithfully discharged his own obligations and those of Soliman ; respected the laws of gratitude and peace ; and left the emperor guardian of his two younger sons, in the vain hope of saving them from the jealous cruelty of their brother Amurath. But the execution of his last testament would have offended the national honour and religion : and the divan unanimously pronounced, that the royal youths should never be abandoned to the custody and education of a Christian dog. On this refusal, the Byzantine councils were divided : but the age and caution of Manuel yielded to the presumption of his son John ; and they unsheathed a dangerous weapon of revenge, by dismissing the true or false Mustapha, who had long been detained as a captive and hostage, and for whose maintenance

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they received an annual pension of three hundred thousand aspers. At the door of his prison, Mustapha subscribed to every proposal; and the keys of Gallipoli, or rather of Europe, were stipulated as the price of his deliverance. But no sooner was he seated on the throne of Romania, than he dismissed the Greek ambassadors with a smile of contempt, declaring, in a pious tone, that, at the day of judgment, he would rather answer for the violation of an oath than for the surrender of a Musulman city into the hands of the infidels. The emperor was at once the enemy of the two rivals; from whom he had sustained, and to whom he had offered, an injury; and the victory of Amurath was followed, in the ensuing spring, by the siege of Constantinople*.

Siege of
Constantinople by
Amurath II.
A. D. 1422,
June 10—
August 24.

The religious merit of subduing the city of the Cæsars attracted from Asia a crowd of volunteers, who aspired to the crown of martyrdom: their military ardour was inflamed by the promise of rich spoils and beautiful females; and the sultan's ambition was consecrated by the presence and prediction of Seid Bechar, a descendant of the prophet, who arrived in the camp, on a mule, with a venerable train of five hundred disciples. But he might blush, if a fanatic could blush, at the failure of his assurances. The strength of the walls resisted an army of two hundred thousand Turks: their assaults were repelled by the sallies of the Greeks and their foreign mercenaries; the old resources of defence were opposed to the new engines of attack; and, after a siege of two months, Amurath was recalled to Boursa by a domestic revolt, which had been kindled by great treachery, and was soon extinguished by the death of a guiltless brother. While he led his Janizaries to

The emperor John
Palæologus
I. A. D.
1425, July
21—A. D.
1448, Oc-
tober 31.

* For the siege of Constantinople in 1422, see the particular and contemporary narrative of John Cananus, published by Leo Allatius, at the end of his edition of *Acropolita* (p. 188—199).

new conquests in Europe and Asia, the Byzantine empire was indulged in a servile and precarious respite of thirty years. Manuel sunk into the grave; and John Palæologus was permitted to reign, for an annual tribute of three hundred thousand aspers, and the dereliction of almost all that he held beyond the suburbs of Constantinople.

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Applications of the Eastern Emperors to the Popes—Visits to the West of John the First, Manuel, and John the Second, Palæologus—Union of the Greek and Latin Churches conducted by the Council at Florence—State of Literature at Constantinople.—Its Revival in Italy by the Greeks.—Schism of the Greeks and Latins after the Return of the Emperor from the Council of Florence.—Reign and Character of Amurath the Second.—Crusade of Ladislaus King of Hungary.—His Defeat and Death at Warna.—John Huniades—Scanderbeg.—Constantine Palæologus, last Emperor of the East.

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Application
of the Greek
emperors to
the popes.

Alexius.

John
Vataces.

IN the four last centuries of the Greek emperors, their friendly or hostile aspect towards the Popes and Latins may be observed as the thermometers of their prosperity or distress. When the Turks of the house of Seljuk pervaded Asia and threatened Constantinople, we have seen at the council of Placentia the ambassadors of Alexius imploring the protection of the common father of the Christians. No sooner had the Crusaders removed the sultan from Nice to Iconium than the Greek princes resumed or avowed their hatred and contempt for the Schismatics of the West. The Mogul invasion is marked by the charitable language of John Vataces. When the first Palæologus was encompassed by enemies, he courted the favour of the Roman pontiff. The conquest of Bithynia by the Turks induced the younger Andronicus to send the monk Barlaam to Benedict the XIIth, to solicit a temporal and spiritual alliance with the western princes; but the pope did not choose to call a synod, and the kings of France and Naples declined engaging in a new crusade.

The negotiations of Cantacuzene with Clement VI. were rendered fruitless by the death of the pope, and the retirement of the emperor to a cloister.

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Of all the Byzantine princes, John Palæologus was the most favourably inclined to the Roman pontiff. His mother, Anne of Savoy, had formed the infancy of her son, and influenced his mind after he became a man. By her advice, and in the hope of foreign aid, he vowed obedience to the See of Rome, and solicited a succour of fifteen galleys, five hundred men at arms, and one thousand archers; but the treaty which he proposed was neither published nor executed. Fourteen years afterwards, in 1369, the emperor, after the loss of Adrianople and Romania, finding himself enclosed in his capital by the haughty Amurath, formed the resolution of casting himself at the feet of the pope. The pontiffs, after a long residence at Avignon, were returned to Rome, and Urban V. encouraged the pilgrimage of the Greek emperor. Palæologus, as a true catholic, acknowledged the supremacy of the pope, and the religious tenets of the Roman church; and Urban strove to rekindle the zeal of the French king and the other powers of the West; but he found them cold in the general cause, and active only in their domestic quarrels. The disconsolate emperor was preparing to return, but he was detained at Venice by his creditors. His eldest son Andronicus took no pains to relieve his distress, for which undutiful neglect he was reproved by his brother Manuel, who sold or mortgaged all that he possessed, embarked for Venice, and pledged his own freedom for his father's.

Cantacuzene.
John Palæologus I.

The visit of John Palæologus to the pontiff was void of either spiritual or temporal effects, and was soon forgotten both by the Greeks and Latins; but thirty years after his return, his son and successor Manuel, from a similar motive, undertook another

Manuel.

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journey to the West. In the year 1400, Constantinople being blockaded by Bajazet, and the land being occupied by the Turks, the emperor sailed to Venice, and passing through Lombardy arrived at Paris. He was received in each city, and particularly in the French metropolis, with every mark of honour and distinction that could be paid to the rank and dignity of the Imperial monarch ; but Charles VI., notwithstanding some lucid intervals, was not in a situation that could enable him to afford effectual assistance to the Greek emperor. Manuel then proceeded to England, where he was saluted on Blackheath by Henry IV. and was treated in London as emperor of the East. But Richard had recently been deposed and murdered, and the new king could not withdraw his person or forces from a throne incessantly shaken with conspiracy and rebellion *. He pitied, praised, and feasted the Greek monarch ; and Manuel, satisfied with gifts and honours, returned to Paris, and embarking at Venice, sailed for Greece, where he arrived after an absence of two years. The emperor derived no advantage from his journey ; and as he had made no sacrifice of the religious principles of the Greek church, he was regarded as a schismatic by the pontiff. The battle of Angora, and the captivity of Bajazet, afforded him effectual relief, and he reigned many years in peace and prosperity.

When Martin V. ascended the chair of St. Peter, a friendly intercourse of letters and embassies was revived between the East and West. Ambition on one side, and distress on the other, dictated the

* Shakspeare begins the first part of Henry IV. with a vow of that monarch to undertake a crusade ; and he concludes the second part with a prophecy that he should die at Jerusalem.—Ed.

Goodwin, in his elaborate history of the reign of Henry V. (London, 1704, one vol. folio), asserts that the dying monarch, when his confessor read the 18th verse of the 51st Psalm, stopt the priest, and declared, on the truth of a dying person, that he really intended, after settling peace in France, to have undertaken the conquest of Jerusalem (vide Caxt. Chron. 1480, c. 245. ad finem, et Monstrelet, ibid.) Quære, Is not this the last notice of a crusade for the recovery of Jerusalem ?

same decent language of charity and peace ; but the real sentiments of Manuel may be learnt from the historian, Phranza, who was his chamberlain, and who enjoyed his confidence. In his presence the aged emperor said to his son John Palæologus the second, “ Our last resource against the Turks is their fear of our union with the warlike nations of the West. As often as you are threatened by the miscreants, present this danger to their eyes ; but the Latins are proud, the Greeks are obstinate, and the attempt of a perfect union will confirm the schism, alienate the churches, and leave us without hope or defence at the mercy of the Barbarians.” The experience and authority of Manuel preserved the peace till his death, which happened in the year 1425, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. The eldest of his sons, John Palæologus, regardless of his father’s John Palæologus II. advice, attempted to unite the churches. Notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the West (distracted by the great schism), the Greek emperor listened to the specious promises of the pope Eugenius, and embarked in the galleys which the pontiff sent from Italy for that purpose.

The aged patriarch Joseph, with great reluctance, consented to accompany the emperor ; and in a chosen list of twenty bishops, are to be found six metropolitan titles, and the distinguished names of Mark and Bessarion, who, in the confidence of their learning and eloquence, were promoted to the episcopal rank. The patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, appeared by real or fictitious deputies ; and the primate of Russia represented a national church. After a tedious navigation, this religious squadron cast anchor before Venice, where the Greek emperor was received with every mark of honour and distinction by the doge and senators of the republic. From Venice the Greeks proceeded to Ferrara, where the synod was to be assembled, and where the

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Florence.Union of the
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emperor was met by the pope. The most scrupulous attention was paid to all the ceremonials connected with their first interview, and with the opening of the assembly. The disputes at that time existing in the western church, and a rival council at Basil, occasioned much delay ; and the appearance of the plague at Ferrara rendered it necessary to transfer the synod to Florence. The conferences were conducted by ten theologians of each nation, among whom, cardinal Julian, of the one part, and Mark of Ephesus, and Bessarion of Nice, of the other part, were the most distinguished. The Greeks were undoubtedly very averse to the sacrifice of their peculiar theological tenets, but they were still more averse to the acknowledgment of the supremacy of the bishop of Rome. But the danger of the empire, and the urgent necessity of obtaining temporal assistance, overcome all considerations. The patriarch Joseph had sunk under age and infirmities. Isidore and Bessarion, the archbishops of Russia and Nice, afterwards became cardinals ; and at length, at the expiration of nine months, a treaty of union was signed, only Demetrius the emperor's brother, and Mark of Ephesus, persisting in their refusal to the concessions which were made by the Greeks. The act of union was subscribed by the pope, the emperor, and the principal members of both churches. The successors of St. Peter and Constantine ascended their thrones in the cathedral of Florence, and after reading the act, they mutually embraced, and divine service was performed according to the Roman liturgy. Eugenius having obtained his principal objects, undertook to defray the expense of the return of the Greeks, and to maintain annually two galleys and three hundred soldiers for the defence of Constantinople. He further promised that, as often as they were required, he would furnish ten galleys for a year, or twenty for six months, and would powerfully solicit the princes

of Europe if the emperor should have occasion for land forces.

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In the distribution of public and private rewards, the liberal pontiff exceeded his promises and the hopes of the Greeks. They returned by Venice to Constantinople; but their reception in that capital was not such as to afford any satisfaction either to the emperor, or to those who had accompanied him. The result of the union in the East must hereafter be circumstantially detailed; but I shall first make a few observations on its consequences in the west of Europe. To Eugenius it was productive of all the advantages which he could hope to derive from it. Various embassies of congratulation were sent to Rome. The general peace of the church was now proclaimed, and the fame of the pontiff who had thus established it was every where diffused. The opposing council of Basil silently dissolved, pope Felix renounced the tiara, and Rome has not since that period been disturbed by a contested election, and by rival pontiffs. These were not the only advantages which resulted to the west of Europe, from the journeys of the three emperors of Constantinople. They promoted the revival of Greek literature in Italy, from whence it was spread to the farthest nations of the West and North. In their lowest servitude and depression, the subjects of the Byzantine throne were still possessed of a golden key that could unlock the treasures of antiquity; of a musical and prolific language, that gives a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy. Since the barriers of the monarchy, and even of the capital, had been trampled under foot, the various Barbarians had doubtless corrupted the form and substance of the national dialect; and ample glossaries have been composed, to interpret a multitude of words of Arabic, Turkish, Sclavonian, Latin, or

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Greek
literature in
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French origin. But a purer idiom was spoken in the court and taught in the college ; and the flourishing state of the language is described, and perhaps embellished, by a learned Italian, who, by long residence and noble marriage, was naturalized at Constantinople about thirty years before the Turkish conquest. "The vulgar speech," says Philelphus, "has been depraved by the people, and infected by the multitude of strangers and merchants, who every day flock to the city, and mingle with the inhabitants. It is from the disciples of such a school that the Latin language received the versions of Aristotle and Plato ; so obscure in sense, and in spirit so poor. But the Greeks who have escaped the contagion are those whom *we* follow ; and they alone are worthy of our imitation. In familiar discourse, they still speak the tongue of Aristophanes and Euripides, of the historians and philosophers of Athens ; and the style of their writings is still more elaborate and correct. The persons who, by their birth and offices, are attached to the Byzantine court, are those who maintain, with the least alloy, the ancient standard of elegance and purity ; and the native graces of language most conspicuously shine among the noble matrons, who are excluded from all intercourse with foreigners. With foreigners do I say ? They live retired and sequestered from the eyes of their fellow citizens. Seldom are they seen in the streets ; and when they leave their houses, it is in the dusk of evening, on visits to the churches and their nearest kindred. On these occasions, they are on horseback, covered with a veil, and encompassed by their parents, their husbands, or their servants.

Among the Greeks, a numerous and opulent clergy was dedicated to the service of religion : their monks and bishops have ever been distinguished by

the gravity and austerity of their manners ; nor were they diverted, like the Latin priests, by the pursuits and pleasures of a secular, and even military, life. The ecclesiastics presided over the education of youth ; the schools of philosophy and eloquence were perpetuated till the fall of the empire ; and it may be affirmed, that more books and more knowledge were included within the walls of Constantinople than could be dispersed over the extensive countries of the West. But an important distinction has been already noticed : the Greeks were stationary or retrograde, while the Latins were advancing with a rapid and progressive motion. The nations were excited by the spirit of independence and emulation ; and even the little world of the Italian states contained more people and industry than the decreasing circle of the Byzantine empire. In Europe, the lower ranks of society were relieved from the yoke of feudal servitude ; and freedom is the first step to curiosity and knowledge. The use, however, rude and corrupt, of the Latin tongue, had been preserved by superstition ; the universities, from Bologna to Oxford*, were peopled with thousands of scholars ; and their misguided ardour might be directed to more liberal and manly studies. In the resurrection of science, Italy was the first that cast away her shroud ; and the eloquent Petrarch, by his lessons and his example, may justly be applauded as the first harbinger of day. A purer style of composition, a more generous and rational strain of sentiment, flowed from the study and imitation of the writers of ancient Rome ; and the disciples of Cicero and Virgil approached, with re-

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Comparison
of the
Greeks and
Latins.

* At the end of the fifteenth century, there existed in Europe about fifty universities, and of these the foundation of ten or twelve is prior to the year 1300. They were crowded in proportion to their scarcity. Bologna contained 10,000 students, chiefly of the civil law. In the year 1357, the number at Oxford had decreased from 30,000 to 6000 scholars (Henry's History of Great Britain, vol. iv. p. 478). Yet even this decrease is much superior to the present list of the members of the university.

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verence and love, the sanctuary of their Grecian masters. In the sack of Constantinople, the French, and even the Venetians, had despised and destroyed the works of Lysippus and Homer: the monuments of art may be annihilated by a single blow; but the immortal mind is renewed and multiplied by the copies of the pen; and such copies it was the ambition of Petrarch and his friends to possess and understand. The arms of the Turks undoubtedly pressed the flight of the muses; yet we may tremble at the thought, that Greece might have been overwhelmed, with her schools and libraries, before Europe had emerged from the deluge of barbarism; that the seeds of science might have been scattered by the winds, before the Italian soil was prepared for their cultivation.

Revival of
the Greek
learning in
Italy.

The most learned Italians of the fifteenth century have confessed and applauded the restoration of Greek literature, after a long oblivion of many hundred years*. Yet in that country, and beyond the Alps, some names are quoted, some profound scholars, who in the darker ages were honourably distinguished by their knowledge of the Greek tongue; and national vanity has been loud in the praise of such rare examples of erudition. Without scrutinizing the merit of individuals, truth must observe, that their science is without a cause and without an effect; that it was easy for them to satisfy themselves and their more ignorant contemporaries; and that the idiom, which they had so marvellously acquired, was transcribed in few manuscripts, and was not taught in any university of the West. In a corner of Italy, it faintly

* Of those writers who professedly treat of the restoration of the Greek learning in Italy, the two principal are Hodus, Dr. Humphrey Hody (*de Græcis Illustribus, Linguae Græcæ Literarumque Humaniorum Instauratoribus*; Londini, 1742, in large octavo), and Tiraboschi (*Istoria della Letteratura Italiana*, tom. v. p. 364—377. tom. vii. p. 112—143). The Oxford professor is a laborious scholar, but the librarian of Modena enjoys the superiority of a modern and national historian.

existed as the popular, or at least as the ecclesiastical, dialect. The first impression of the Doric and Ionic colonies has never been completely erased: the Calabrian churches were long attached to the throne of Constantinople; and the monks of St. Basil pursued their studies in mount Athos and the schools of the East. Calabria was the native country of Barlaam, who has already appeared as a sectary and an ambassador; and Barlaam was the first who revived, beyond the Alps, the memory, or at least the writings, of Homer. He is described, by Petrarch and Boccace*, as a man of a diminutive stature, though truly great in the measure of learning and genius; of a piercing discernment, though of a slow and painful elocution. For many ages (as they affirm) Greece had not produced his equal in the knowledge of history, grammar, and philosophy; and his merit was celebrated in the attestations of the princes and doctors of Constantinople. One of these attestations is still extant; and the emperor Cantacuzene, the protector of his adversaries, is forced to allow, that Euclid, Aristotle, and Plato, were familiar to that profound and subtle logician†. In the court of Avignon, he formed an intimate connexion with Petrarch‡, the first of the Latin scholars; and the desire of mutual instruction was the principle of their literary commerce. The Tuscan applied himself with eager curiosity and assiduous diligence to the study of the Greek language; and in a laborious struggle with the dryness and difficulty of the first rudiments, he began to reach the sense, and to feel the spirit, of poets and philosophers, whose minds were congenial to his own. But he was soon deprived of the society

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Lessons of
Barlaam,
A. D. 1339.

Studies of
Petrarch,
A. D. 1339
—1374.

* See the character of Barlaam, in Boccace de Genealog. Deorum, l. xv. c. 6.

† Cantacuzen. l. ii. c. 36.

‡ For the connexion of Petrarch and Barlaam, and the two interviews at Avignon in 1339, and at Naples in 1342, see the excellent *Memoires sur la Vie de Petrarque*, tom. i. p. 406—410. tom. ii. p. 75—77.

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and lessons of this useful assistant : Barlaam relinquished his fruitless embassy ; and, on his return to Greece, he rashly provoked the swarms of fanatic monks. After a separation of three years, the two friends again met in the court of Naples ; but the generous pupil renounced the fairest occasion of improvement ; and by his recommendation Barlaam was finally settled in a small bishopric of his native Calabria. The manifold avocations of Petrarch, love and friendship, his various correspondence and frequent journeys, the Roman laurel, and his elaborate compositions in prose and verse, in Latin and Italian, diverted him from a foreign idiom ; and as he advanced in life, the attainment of the Greek language was the object of his wishes, rather than of his hopes. When he was about fifty years of age, a Byzantine ambassador, his friend, and a master of both tongues, presented him with a copy of Homer ; and the answer of Petrarch is at once expressive of his eloquence, gratitude, and regret. After celebrating the generosity of the donor, and the value of a gift more precious in his estimation than gold or rubies, he thus proceeds : “ Your present of the genuine and original text of “ the divine poet, the fountain of all invention, is “ worthy of yourself and of me : you have fulfilled “ your promise, and satisfied my desires. Yet your “ liberality is still imperfect : with Homer you should “ have given me yourself ; a guide, who could lead “ me into the fields of light, and disclose to my wondering eyes the spacious miracles of the Iliad and “ Odyssey. But, alas ! Homer is dumb, or I am “ deaf ; nor is it in my power to enjoy the beauty “ which I possess. I have seated him by the side of “ Plato, the prince of poets near the prince of philosophers ; and I glory in the sight of my illustrious “ guests. Of their immortal writings, whatever had “ been translated into the Latin idiom, I had already

“acquired ; but if there be no profit, there is some
 “pleasure, in beholding these venerable Greeks in
 “their proper and national habit. I am delighted
 “with the aspect of Homer ; and as often as I em-
 “brace the silent volume, I exclaim with a sigh,
 “Illustrious bard ! with what pleasure should I listen
 “to thy song, if my sense of hearing were not ob-
 “structed and lost by the death of one friend, and
 “in the much lamentable absence of another ! Nor
 “do I yet despair ; and the example of Cato suggests
 “some comfort and hope, since it was in the last pe-
 “riod of age that he attained the knowledge of the
 “Greek letters.”

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The prize which eluded the efforts of Petrarch was obtained by the fortune and industry of his friend Boccace, the father of the Tuscan prose. That popular writer, who derives his reputation from the Decameron, a hundred novels of pleasantry and love, may aspire to the more serious praise of restoring in Italy the study of the Greek language. In the year one thousand three hundred and sixty, a disciple of Barlaam, whose name was Leo, or Leontius Pilatus, was detained in his way to Avignon by the advice and hospitality of Boccace, who lodged the stranger in his house, prevailed on the republic of Florence to allow him an annual stipend, and devoted his leisure to the first Greek professor, who taught that language in the Western countries of Europe. The appearance of Leo might disgust the most eager disciple : he was clothed in the mantle of a philosopher, or a mendicant ; his countenance was hideous ; his face was overshadowed with black hair ; his beard long and uncombed ; his deportment rustic ; his temper gloomy and inconstant ; nor could he grace his discourse with the ornaments, or even the perspicuity, of Latin elocution. But his mind was stored with a treasure of Greek learning ; history and fable, philosophy and

Of Boccace,
 A. D. 1360,
 &c.

Leo Pilatus,
 first Greek
 professor at
 Florence
 and in the
 West,
 A. D. 1360
 —1363.

grammar, were alike at his command ; and he read the poems of Homer in the schools of Florence. It was from his explanation that Boccace composed and transcribed a literal prose version of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which satisfied the thirst of his friend Petrarch, and which, perhaps, in the succeeding century, was clandestinely used by Laurentius Valla, the Latin interpreter. It was from his narratives that the same Boccace collected the materials for his treatise on the genealogy of the heathen gods, a work, in that age, of stupendous erudition, and which he ostentatiously sprinkled with Greek characters and passages, to excite the wonder and applause of his more ignorant readers. The first steps of learning are slow and laborious : no more than ten votaries of Homer could be enumerated in all Italy ; and neither Rome, nor Venice, nor Naples, could add a single name to this studious catalogue. But their numbers would have multiplied, their progress would have been accelerated, if the inconstant Leo, at the end of three years, had not relinquished an honourable and beneficial station. In his passage, Petrarch entertained him at Padua a short time : he enjoyed the scholar, but was justly offended with the gloomy and unsocial temper of the man. Discontented with the world and with himself, Leo depreciated his present enjoyments, while absent persons and objects were dear to his imagination. In Italy he was a Thessalian, in Greece a native of Calabria ; in the company of the Latins he disdained their language, religion, and manner : no sooner was he landed at Constantinople than he again sighed for the wealth of Venice, and the elegance of Florence. His Italian friends were deaf to his importunity ; he depended on their curiosity and indulgence, and embarked on a second voyage ; but on his entrance into the Adriatic, the ship was assailed by a tempest, and the unfortunate teacher, who, like Ulysses,

had fastened himself to the mast, was struck dead by a flash of lightning. The humane Petrarch dropt a tear on his disaster ; but he was most anxious to learn whether some copy of Euripides or Sophocles might not be saved from the hands of the mariners.

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But the faint rudiments of Greek learning, which Petrarch had encouraged and Boccace had planted, soon withered and expired. The succeeding generation was content for a while with the improvement of Latin eloquence ; nor was it before the end of the fourteenth century that a new and perpetual flame was rekindled in Italy. Previous to his own journey, the emperor Manuel despatched his envoys and orators to implore the compassion of the Western princes. Of these envoys, the most conspicuous, or the most learned, was Manuel Chrysoloras, of noble birth, and whose Roman ancestors are supposed to have migrated with the great Constantine. After visiting the courts of France and England, where he obtained some contributions and more promises, the envoy was invited to assume the office of a professor ; and Florence had again the honour of this second invitation. By his knowledge not only of the Greek, but of the Latin tongue, Chrysoloras deserved the stipend, and surpassed the expectation, of the republic. His school was frequented by a crowd of disciples of every rank and age ; and one of these, in a general history, has described his motives and his success. “ At that time,” says Leonard Aretin, “ I was a student of the civil law ; but my soul was inflamed with the love of letters, and I bestowed some application on the sciences of logic and rhetoric. On the arrival of Manuel, I hesitated whether I should desert my legal studies, or relinquish this golden opportunity ; and thus, in the ardour of youth, I communed with my own mind : Wilt thou be wanting to thyself and thy fortune ? Wilt thou refuse to be introduced to

Foundation
of the Greek
language in
Italy by
Manuel
Chrysoloras,
A. D. 1390
—1415.

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“ a familiar converse with Homer, Plato, and Demos-
 “ thenes ? with those poets, philosophers, and orators,
 “ of whom such wonders are related, and who are
 “ celebrated by every age as the great masters of hu-
 “ man science ? Of professors and scholars in civil
 “ law, a sufficient supply will always be found in our
 “ universities ; but a teacher, and such a teacher,
 “ of the Greek language, if he once be suffered to
 “ escape, may never afterwards be retrieved. Con-
 “ vinced by these reasons, I gave myself to Chryso-
 “ loras ; and so strong was my passion, that the les-
 “ sons which I had imbibed in the day were the con-
 “ stant subject of my nightly dreams.” At the same
 time and place, the Latin classics were explained by
 John of Ravenna, the domestic pupil of Petrarch ;
 the Italians, who illustrated their age and country,
 were formed in this double school ; and Florence be-
 came the fruitful seminary of Greek and Roman eru-
 dition. The presence of the emperor recalled Chry-
 soloras from the college to the court, but he after-
 wards taught at Pavia and Rome with equal industry
 and applause. The remainder of his life, about fifteen
 years, was divided between Italy and Constantinople,
 between embassies and lessons. In the noble office
 of enlightening a foreign nation, the grammarian was
 not unmindful of a more sacred duty to his prince
 and country ; and Emanuel Chrysoloras died at Con-
 stance on a public mission from the emperor to the
 council.

The Greek
 in Italy,
 A. D. 1400
 —1500.

After his example, the restoration of the Greek
 letters in Italy was prosecuted by a series of emi-
 grants, who were destitute of fortune, and endowed
 with learning, or at least with language. From the
 terror or oppression of the Turkish arms, the natives
 of Thessalonica and Constantinople escaped to a land
 of freedom, curiosity, and wealth. The conformity
 of Bessarion was rewarded with the Roman purple :

Cardinal
 Bessarion,
 &c.

he fixed his residence in Italy, and the Greek cardinal, the titular patriarch of Constantinople, was respected as the chief and protector of his nation : his abilities were exercised in the legations of Bologna, Venice, Germany, and France ; and his election to the chair of St. Peter floated for a moment on the uncertain breath of a conclave *. His ecclesiastical honours diffused a splendour and pre-eminence over his literary merit and service : his palace was a school ; as often as the cardinal visited the Vatican, he was attended by a learned train of both nations † ; of men applauded by themselves and the public ; and whose writings, now overspread with dust, were popular and useful in their own times. I shall not attempt to enumerate the restorers of Grecian literature in the fifteenth century ; and it may be sufficient to mention with gratitude the names of Theodore Gaza, of George of Trebizond, of John Argyropulus, and Demetrius Chalcocondyles, who taught their native language in the schools of Florence and Rome. Their labours were not inferior to those of Bessarion, whose purple they revered, and whose fortune was the secret object of their envy. But the lives of these grammarians were humble and obscure : they had declined the lucrative paths of the church ; their dress and manners secluded them from the commerce of the world ; and since they were confined to the merit, they might be content with the rewards, of learning. From this character, Janus Lascaris will deserve an exception. His eloquence, politeness, and imperial descent, recommended him to the French monarchs ; and in the same cities he was alternately employed to

Their faults
and merits.

* The cardinals knocked at his door, but his conclavist refused to interrupt the studies of Bessarion : " Nicholas," said he, " thy respect has cost thee a hat, and me the tiara."

† Such as George of Trebizond, Theodore Gaza, Argyropulus Andronicus of Thessalonica, Philolphus, Poggius, Blondus, Nicholas Perrot, Valla, Campanus, Platina, &c. Viri (says Hody with the pious zeal of a scholar) nullo ævo perituri (p. 156).

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teach and to negotiate. Duty and interest prompted them to cultivate the study of the Latin language ; and the most successful attained the faculty of writing and speaking with fluency and elegance in a foreign idiom. But they ever retained the inveterate vanity of their country : their praise, or at least their esteem, was reserved for the national writers, to whom they owed their fame and subsistence ; and they sometimes betrayed their contempt in licentious criticism or satire on Virgil's poetry and the oratory of Tully. The superiority of these masters arose from the familiar use of a living language ; and their first disciples were incapable of discerning how far they had degenerated from the knowledge, and even the practice, of their ancestors. A vicious pronunciation, which they introduced, was banished from the schools by the reason of the succeeding age. Of the power of the Greek accents they were ignorant ; and those musical notes, which, from an Attic tongue, and to an Attic ear, must have been the secret soul of harmony, were to their eyes, as to our own, no more than minute and unmeaning marks, in prose superfluous, and troublesome in verse. The art of grammar they truly possessed : the valuable fragments of Apollonius and Herodian were transfused into their lessons ; and their treatises of syntax and etymology, though devoid of philosophic spirit, are still useful to the Greek student. In the shipwreck of the Byzantine libraries, each fugitive seized a fragment of treasure, a copy of some author, who, without his industry, might have perished ; the transcripts were multiplied by an assiduous, and sometimes an elegant, pen ; and the text was corrected and explained by their own comments, or those of the elder scholiasts. The sense, though not the spirit, of the Greek classics, was interpreted to the Latin world : the beauties of style evaporate in a version ; but the judgment of Theodore Gaza

selected the more solid works of Aristotle and Theophrastus, and their natural histories of animals and plants opened a rich fund of genuine and experimental science.

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Yet the fleeting shadows of metaphysics were pursued with more curiosity and ardour. After a long oblivion, Plato was revived in Italy by a venerable Greek, who taught in the house of Cosmo of Medicis. While the synod of Florence was involved in theological debate, some beneficial consequences might flow from the study of his elegant philosophy: his style is the purest standard of the Attic dialect; and his sublime thoughts are sometimes adapted to familiar conversation, and sometimes adorned with the richest colours of poetry and eloquence. The dialogues of Plato are a dramatic picture of the life and death of a sage; and as often as he descends from the clouds, his moral system inculcates the love of truth, of our country, and of mankind. The precept and example of Socrates recommended a modest doubt and liberal inquiry; and if the Platonists, with blind devotion, adored the visions and errors of their divine master, their enthusiasm might correct the dry, dogmatic method of the Peripatetic school. So equal, yet so opposite, are the merits of Plato and Aristotle, that they may be balanced in endless controversy; but some spark of freedom may be produced by the collision of adverse servitude. The modern Greeks were divided between the two sects: with more fury than skill they fought under the banner of their leaders; and the field of battle was removed in their flight from Constantinople to Rome. But this philosophical debate soon degenerated into an angry and personal quarrel of grammarians; and Bessarion, though an advocate for Plato, protected the national honour, by interposing the advice and authority of a mediator. In the gardens of the Medici, the academical doc-

The Platonic
philosophy.

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trine was enjoyed by the polite and learned ; but their philosophic society was quickly dissolved ; and if the writings of the Attic sage were perused in the closet, the more powerful Stagyrte continued to reign the oracle of the church and school.

Emulation
and pro-
gress of the
Latins.

I have fairly represented the literary merits of the Greeks ; yet it must be confessed that they were seconded and surpassed by the ardour of the Latins. Italy was divided into many independent states ; and at that time it was the ambition of princes and republics to vie with each other in the encouragement

Nicholas V.
A. D. 1447
—1455.

and reward of literature. The fame of Nicholas the Fifth has not been adequate to his merits. From a plebeian origin he raised himself by his virtue and learning : the character of the man prevailed over the interest of the pope ; and he sharpened those weapons which were soon pointed against the Roman church. He had been the friend of the most eminent scholars of the age : he became their patron ; and such was the humility of his manners, that the change was scarcely discernible either to them or to himself. If he pressed the acceptance of a liberal gift, it was not as the measure of desert, but as the proof of benevolence ; and when modest merit declined his bounty, " Accept it," would he say, with a consciousness of his own worth ; " you will not always have a " Nicholas among ye." The influence of the holy see pervaded Christendom ; and he exerted that influence in the search, not of benefices, but of books. From the ruins of the Byzantine libraries, from the darkest monasteries of Germany and Britain, he collected the dusty manuscripts of the writers of antiquity ; and wherever the original could not be removed, a faithful copy was transcribed and transmitted for his use. The Vatican, the old repository for bulls and legends, for superstition and forgery, was daily replenished with more precious furniture ; and such

was the industry of Nicholas, that, in a reign of eight years, he formed a library of five thousand volumes. To his munificence the Latin world was indebted for the versions of Xenophon, Diodorus, Polybius, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Appian; of Strabo's Geography, of the Iliad, of the most valuable works of Plato and Aristotle, of Ptolemy and Theophrastus, and of the fathers of the Greek church. The example of the Roman pontiff was preceded or imitated by a Florentine merchant, who governed the republic without arms and without a title. Cosmo of Medicis * was a father of a line of princes, whose name and age are almost synonymous with the restoration of learning: his credit was ennobled into fame; his riches were dedicated to the service of mankind; he corresponded at once with Cairo and London; and a cargo of Indian spices and Greek books was often imported in the same vessel. The genius and education of his grandson Lorenzo rendered him not only a patron, but a judge and candidate, in the literary race. In his palace, distress was entitled to relief, and merit to reward: his leisure hours were delightfully spent in the Platonic academy: he encouraged the emulation of Demetrius Chalcocondyles and Angelo Politian; and his active missionary Janus Lascaris returned from the East with a treasure of two hundred manuscripts, fourscore of which were as yet unknown in the libraries of Europe. The rest of Italy was animated by a similar spirit, and the progress of the nation repaid the liberality of her princes. The Latins held the exclusive property of their own literature; and these disciples of Greece were soon capable of transmitting and improving the lessons which they had imbibed. After a short succession of foreign

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Cosmo and
Lorenzo of
Medicis,
A. D. 1428
—1492.

* See the literary history of Cosmo and Lorenzo of Medicis, in Tiraboschi (tom. vi. p. i. l. i. c. 2), who bestows a due measure of praise on Alphonso of Arragon, king of Naples, the dukes of Milan, Ferrara, Urbino, &c.

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teachers, the tide of emigration subsided ; but the language of Constantinople was spread beyond the Alps ; and the natives of France, Germany, and England *, imparted to their country the sacred fire which they had kindled in the schools of Florence and Rome. In the productions of the mind, as in those of the soil, the gifts of nature are excelled by industry and skill : the Greek authors, forgotten on the banks of the Ilissus, have been illustrated on those of the Elbe and the Thames : and Bessarion or Gaza might have envied the superior science of the Barbarians ; the accuracy of Budæus, the taste of Erasmus, the copiousness of Stephens, the erudition of Scaliger, the discernment of Reiske, or of Bentley. On the side of the Latins, the discovery of printing was a casual advantage : but this useful art has been applied by Aldus, and his innumerable successors, to perpetuate and multiply the works of antiquity †. A single manuscript imported from Greece is revived in ten thousand copies, and each copy is fairer than the original. In this form Homer and Plato would peruse with more satisfaction their own writings ; and their scholiasts must resign the prize to the labours of our western editors.

Use and
abuse of
ancient
learning.

Before the revival of classic literature, the Barbarians in Europe were immersed in ignorance ; and their vulgar tongues were marked with the rudeness and poverty of their manners. The students of the

* The Greek language was introduced into the university of Oxford in the last years of the fifteenth century, by Grocyn, Linacer, and Latimer, who had all studied at Florence under Demetrius Chalcocondyles. See Dr. Knight's curious *Life of Erasmus*. Although a stout academical patriot, he is forced to acknowledge that Erasmus learned Greek at Oxford, and taught it at Cambridge.

† The press of Aldus Manutius, a Roman, was established at Venice about the year 1494 : he printed above sixty considerable works of Greek literature, almost all for the first time ; several containing different treatises and authors, and of several authors two, three, or four editions (*Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. xiii. p. 605, &c.*) Yet his glory must not tempt us to forget, that the first Greek book, the *Grammar of Constantine Lascaris*, was printed at Milan in 1476 ; and that the *Florence Homer of 1488* displays all the luxury of the typographical art. See the *Annales Typographici de Maittaire*, and the *Bibliographie Instructive de De Bure*, a knowing bookseller of Paris.

more perfect idioms of Rome and Greece were introduced to a new world of light and science ; to the society of the free and polished nations of antiquity ; and to a familiar converse with those immortal men who spoke the sublime language of eloquence and reason. Such an intercourse must tend to refine the taste and to elevate the genius of the moderns ; and yet, from the first experiments, it might appear that the study of the ancients had given fetters, rather than wings, to the human mind. However laudable, the spirit of imitation is of a servile cast ; and the first disciples of the Greeks and Romans were a colony of strangers in the midst of their age and country. The minute and laborious diligence which explored the antiquities of remote times might have improved or adorned the present state of society : the critic and metaphysician were the slaves of Aristotle ; the poets, historians, and orators, were proud to repeat the thoughts and words of the Augustan age ; the works of nature were observed with the eyes of Pliny and Theophrastus ; and some Pagan votaries professed a secret devotion to the gods of Homer and Plato. The Italians were oppressed by the strength and number of their ancient auxiliaries : the century after the deaths of Petrarch and Boccace was filled with a crowd of Latin imitators, who decently repose on our shelves ; but, in that æra of learning, it will not be easy to discern a real discovery of science, a work of invention or eloquence, in the popular language of the country *. But as soon as it had been deeply saturated with the celestial dew, the soil was quickened into vegetation and life ; the modern idioms were refined ; the classics of Athens and Rome inspired a pure taste and a generous emulation ; and

* The survivor of Boccace died in the year 1375 ; and we cannot place before 1480 the composition of the *Morgante Maggiore* of Pulci, and the *Orlando Innamorato* of Boyardo (Tiraboschi, tom. vi. p. ii. p. 174—177).

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in Italy, as afterwards in France and England, the pleasing reign of poetry and fiction was succeeded by the light of speculative and experimental philosophy. Genius may anticipate the season of maturity; but in the education of a people, as in that of an individual, memory must be exercised, before the powers of reason and fancy can be expanded; nor may the artist hope to equal or surpass, till he has learned to imitate, the works of his predecessors.

Compari-
son of
Rome and
Constanti-
nople.

The respective merits of Rome and Constantinople are compared and celebrated by an eloquent Greek, the father of the Italian schools*. The view of the ancient capital, the seat of his ancestors, surpassed the most sanguine expectations of Emanuel Chrysoloras; and he no longer blamed the exclamation of an old sophist, that Rome was the habitation, not of men, but of gods. Those gods, and those men, had long since vanished; but, to the eye of liberal enthusiasm, the majesty of ruin restored the image of her ancient prosperity. The monuments of the consuls and Cæsars, of the martyrs and apostles, engaged on all sides the curiosity of the philosopher and the christian; and he confessed, that in every age the arms and the religion of Rome were destined to reign over the earth. While Chrysoloras admired the venerable beauties of the mother, he was not forgetful of his native country, her fairest daughter, her Imperial colony; and the Byzantine patriot expatiates with zeal and truth on the eternal advantages of nature, and the more transitory glories of art and dominion, which adorned, or had adorned, the city of Constantine. Yet the perfection of the copy still redounds (as he modestly observes) to the honour of the original, and parents are delighted to be renewed, and even excelled, by the superior merit

* The Epistle of Emanuel Chrysoloras to the emperor John Palæologus will not offend the eye or ear of a classical student (*ad calcem Codini de Antiquitatibus C. P.* p. 107—126.)

of their children. "Constantinople," says the orator, "is situated on a commanding point, between Europe and Asia, between the Archipelago and the Euxine. By her interposition, the two seas, and the two continents, are united for the common benefit of nations; and the gates of commerce may be shut or opened at her command. The harbour, encompassed on all sides by the sea and the continent, is the most secure and capacious in the world. The walls and gates of Constantinople may be compared with those of Babylon: the towers are many; each tower is a solid and lofty structure; and the second wall, the outer fortification, would be sufficient for the defence and dignity of an ordinary capital. A broad and rapid stream may be introduced into the ditches; and the artificial island may be encompassed, like Athens, by land or water." Two strong and natural causes are alleged for the perfection of the model of new Rome. The royal founder reigned over the most illustrious nations of the globe; and in the accomplishment of his designs, the power of the Romans was combined with the art and science of the Greeks. Other cities have been reared to maturity by accident and time; their beauties are mingled with disorder and deformity; and the inhabitants, unwilling to move from their natal spot, are incapable of correcting the errors of their ancestors, and the original vices of situation or climate. But the free idea of Constantinople was formed and executed by a single mind; and the primitive model was improved by the obedient zeal of the subjects and successors of the first monarch. The adjacent isles were stored with an inexhaustible supply of marble; but the various materials were transported from the most remote shores of Europe and Asia, and the public and private buildings and palaces, churches, aqueducts,

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cisterns, porticoes, columns, baths, and hippodromes, were adapted to the greatness of the capital of the East. The superfluity of wealth was spread along the shores of Europe and Asia; and the Byzantine territory, as far as the Euxine, the Hellespont, and the long wall, might be considered as a populous suburb and a perpetual garden. In this flattering picture, the past and the present, the times of prosperity and decay, are artfully confounded; but a sigh and a confession escape from the orator, that his wretched country was the shadow and sepulchre of its former self. The works of ancient sculpture had been defaced; the fairest structures were demolished; and the marbles of Paros or Numidia were burnt for lime; or applied to the meanest uses. Of many a statue, the place was marked by an empty pedestal; of many a column, the size was determined by a broken capital; the tombs of the emperors were scattered on the ground; the stroke of time was accelerated by storms and earthquakes; and the vacant space was adorned, by vulgar tradition, with fabulous monuments of gold and silver. From these wonders, which lived only in memory or belief, he distinguishes, however, the porphyry pillar, the column and colossus of Justinian, and the church, more especially the dome, of St. Sophia; the best conclusion, since it could not be described according to its merits, and after it no other object could deserve to be mentioned. But he forgets that, a century before, the trembling fabrics of the colossus and the church had been saved and supported by the timely care of Andronicus the elder. Thirty years after the emperor had fortified St. Sophia with two new buttresses or pyramids, the eastern hemisphere suddenly gave way; and the images, the altars, and the sanctuary, were crushed by the falling ruin. The mischief indeed was speedily repaired; the rubbish was cleared by the incessant labour of

every rank and age ; and the poor remains of riches and industry were consecrated by the Greeks to the most stately and venerable temple of the East.

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The last hope of the falling city and empire was placed in the harmony of the mother and daughter, in the maternal tenderness of Rome, and the filial obedience of Constantinople. In the synod of Florence, the Greeks and Latins had embraced, and subscribed, and promised ; but these signs of friendship were perfidious or fruitless ; and the baseless fabric of the union vanished like a dream*. The emperor and his prelates returned home in the Venetian galleys ; but as they touched at the Morea and the isles of Corfu and Lesbos, the subjects of the Latins complained that the pretended union would be an instrument of oppression. No sooner did they land on the Byzantine shore than they were saluted, or rather assailed, with a general murmur of zeal and discontent. During their absence, above two years, the capital had been deprived of its civil and ecclesiastical rulers : fanaticism fermented in anarchy ; the most furious monks reigned over the conscience of women and bigots ; and the hatred of the Latin name was their first principle. Before his departure for Italy, the emperor had flattered the city with the assurance of a prompt relief and a powerful succour ; and the clergy, confident in their orthodoxy and science, had promised themselves and their flocks an easy victory over the blind shepherds of the West. The double disappointment exasperated the Greeks ; the conscience of the subscribing prelates was awakened ; the hour of temptation was past ; and they had more to dread from the public resentment than they could hope from the favour of the emperor or the pope.

The Greek
schism after
the council
of Florence,
A. D. 1440
—1448.

* On the schism of Constantinople, see Phranza (l. ii. c. 17), Laonicus Chalcondyles (l. vi. p. 155, 156), and Ducas (c. 31) ; the last of whom writes with truth and freedom. Among the moderns we may distinguish the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii. p. 338, &c. 401. 420, &c.)

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Instead of justifying their conduct, they deplored their weakness, professed their contrition, and cast themselves on the mercy of God and of their brethren. To the reproachful question, what had been the event or use of their Italian synod? they answered with sighs and tears, "Alas! we have been seduced by distress, by fraud, and by the hopes and fears of a transitory life. The hand that has signed the union should be cut off; and the tongue that has pronounced the Latin creed deserves to be torn from the root." The best proof of their repentance was an increase of zeal for the most trivial rites; and an absolute separation from all, without excepting their prince, who preserved some regard for honour and consistency. After the decease of the patriarch Joseph, the archbishops of Heraclea and Trebizond had courage to refuse the vacant office; and cardinal Bessarion preferred the warm and comfortable shelter of the Vatican. The choice of the emperor and his clergy was confined to Metrophanes of Cyzicus: he was consecrated in St. Sophia, but the temple was vacant. The cross-bearers abdicated their service; the infection spread from the city to the villages; and Metrophanes discharged, without effect, some ecclesiastical thunders against a nation of schismatics. The eyes of the Greeks were directed to Mark of Ephesus, the champion of his country; and the sufferings of the holy confessor were repaid with a tribute of admiration and applause. His example and writings propagated the flame of religious discord; but age and infirmity soon removed him from the world.

Zeal of the
Orientals
and Rus-
sians.

The schism was not confined to the narrow limits of the Byzantine empire. The three patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, assembled a numerous synod; disowned their representatives at Ferrara and Florence; condemned the creed and

council of the Latins ; and threatened the emperor of Constantinople with the censures of the Eastern church. Of the sectaries of the Greek communion, the Russians were the most powerful, ignorant, and superstitious. Their primate, the cardinal Isidore, hastened from Florence to Moscow, to reduce the independent nation under the Roman yoke. But the Russian bishops had been educated at mount Athos ; and the prince and people embraced the theology of their priests. They were scandalized by the title, the pomp, the Latin cross of the legate. Isidore was condemned by a synod ; his person was imprisoned in a monastery ; and it was with extreme difficulty that the cardinal could escape from the hands of a fierce and fanatic people. While Eugenius triumphed in the union and orthodoxy of the Greeks, his party was contracted to the walls, or rather to the palace, of Constantinople. The zeal of Palæologus had been excited by interest ; it was soon cooled by opposition : an attempt to violate the national belief might endanger his life and crown ; nor could the pious rebels be destitute of foreign and domestic aid. The sword of his brother Demetrius, who in Italy had maintained a prudent and popular silence, was half unsheathed in the cause of religion ; and Amurath, the Turkish sultan, was displeased and alarmed by the seeming friendship of the Greeks and Latins.

“ Sultan Murad, or Amurath, lived forty-nine, and reigned thirty years, six months, and eight days. “ He was a just and valiant prince ; of a great soul, patient of labours, learned, merciful, religious, charitable ; a lover and encourager of the studious, and of all who excelled in any art or science ; a good emperor, and a great general. No man obtained more or greater victories than Amurath : Belgrade alone withstood his attacks. Under his reign, the soldier was ever victorious, the citizen

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Reign and
character of
Amurath II.
A. D. 1421
—1451.
Feb. 9.

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“ rich and secure. If he subdued any country, his
“ first care was to build moschs and caravanseras,
“ hospitals, and colleges. Every year he gave a thou-
“ sand pieces of gold to the sons of the prophet ;
“ and sent two thousand five hundred to the reli-
“ gious persons of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem *.”

This portrait is transcribed from the historian of the Othman empire : but the applause of a servile and superstitious people has been lavished on the worst of tyrants, and the virtues of a sultan are often the vices most useful to himself, or most agreeable to his subjects. A nation ignorant of the equal benefits of liberty and law must be awed by the flashes of arbitrary power : the cruelty of a despot will assume the character of justice ; his profusion, of liberality ; his obstinacy, of firmness. If the most reasonable excuse be rejected, few acts of obedience will be found impossible ; and guilt must tremble, where innocence cannot always be secure. The tranquillity of the people, and the discipline of the troops, were best maintained by perpetual action in the field ; war was the trade of the Janizaries ; and those who survived the peril, and divided the spoil, applauded the generous ambition of their sovereign. To propagate the true religion was the duty of a faithful Musulman ; the unbelievers were *his* enemies, and those of the prophet ; and, in the hands of the Turks, the scimitar was the only instrument of conversion. Under these circumstances, however, the justice and moderation of Amurath are attested by his conduct, and acknowledged by the Christians themselves ; who consider a prosperous reign and a peaceful death as the reward of his singular merits. In the vigour of his age and military power, he seldom engaged in a war till he was justified by a previous and adequate provocation : the victorious sultan was disarmed by submission ;

* See Cantemir, History of the Othman Empire, p. 94.

and in the observance of treaties his word was inviolate and sacred. The Hungarians were commonly the aggressors; he was provoked by the revolt of Scanderberg; and the perfidious Caramanian was twice vanquished, and twice pardoned, by the Ottoman monarch. Before he invaded the Morea, Thebes had been surprised by the despot: in the conquest of Thessalonica, the grandson of Bajazet might dispute the recent purchase of the Venetians; and after the first siege of Constantinople, the sultan was never tempted, by the distress, the absence, or the injuries of Palæologus, to extinguish the dying light of the Byzantine empire.

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But the most striking feature in the life and character of Amurath is the double abdication of the Turkish throne; and, were not his motives debased by an alloy of superstition, we must praise the royal philosopher*, who at the age of forty could discern the vanity of human greatness. Resigning the sceptre to his son, he retired to the pleasant residence of Magnesia; but he retired to the society of saints and hermits. It was not till the fourth century of the Hegira that the religion of Mahomet had been corrupted by an institution so adverse to his genius; but in the age of the crusades, the various orders of dervishes were multiplied by the example of the Christian, and even the Latin, monks. The lord of nations submitted to fast, and pray, and turn round in endless rotation with the fanatics, who mistook the giddiness of the head for the illumination of the spirit. But he was soon awakened from this dream of enthusiasm, by the Hungarian invasion; and his obedient son was the foremost to urge the public danger and wishes of the people. Under the banner

His double
abdication,
A. D. 1442
—1444.

* Voltaire (*Essai sur l'Histoire Générale*, c. 29, p. 283, 284) admires *le Philosophe Turc*. Would he have bestowed the same praise on a Christian prince for retiring to a monastery? In his way, Voltaire was a bigot, an intolérant bigot.

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of their veteran leader, the Janizaries fought and conquered ; but he withdrew from the field of Varna, again to pray, to fast, and to turn round to his Magnesian brethren. These pious occupations were again interrupted by the danger of the state. A victorious army disdained the inexperience of their youthful ruler : the city of Adrianople was abandoned to rapine and slaughter ; and the unanimous divan implored his presence to appease the tumult, and prevent the rebellion, of the Janizaries. At the well-known voice of their master, they trembled and obeyed ; and the reluctant sultan was compelled to support his splendid servitude, till, at the end of four years, he was relieved by the angel of death. Age or disease, misfortune or caprice, have tempted several princes to descend from the throne ; and they have had leisure to repent of their irretrievable step. But Amurath alone, in the full liberty of choice, after the trial of empire and solitude, has *repeated* his preference of a private life.

Eugenius
forms a
league
against the
Turks,
A. D. 1443.

After the departure of his Greek brethren, Eugenius had not been unmindful of their temporal interest ; and his tender regard for the Byzantine empire was animated by a just apprehension of the Turks, who approached, and might soon invade, the borders of Italy. But the spirit of the crusades had expired ; and the coldness of the Franks was not less unreasonable than their headlong passion. In the eleventh century, a fanatic monk could precipitate Europe on Asia for the recovery of the holy sepulchre ; but in the fifteenth, the most pressing motives of religion and policy were insufficient to unite the Latins in the defence of Christendom. Germany was an inexhaustible storehouse of men and arms ; but that complex and languid body required the impulse of a vigorous hand ; and Frederic the Third was alike impotent in his personal character

and his Imperial dignity. A long war had impaired the strength, without satiating the animosity, of France and England : but Philip, duke of Burgundy, was a vain and magnificent prince ; and he enjoyed, without danger or expense, the adventurous piety of his subjects, who sailed, in a gallant fleet, from the coast of Flanders to the Hellespont. The maritime republics of Venice and Genoa were less remote from the scene of action ; and their hostile fleets were associated under the standard of St. Peter. The kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, which covered as it were the interior pale of the Latin church, were the most nearly concerned to oppose the progress of the Turks. Arms were the patrimony of the Scythians and Sarmatians, and these nations might appear equal to the contest, could they point against the common foe those swords that were so wantonly drawn in bloody and domestic quarrels. But the same spirit was adverse to concord and obedience : a poor country and a limited monarch are incapable of maintaining a standing force ; and the loose bodies of Polish and Hungarian horse were not armed with the sentiments and weapons which, on some occasions, have given irresistible weight to the French chivalry. Yet, on this side, the designs of the Roman pontiff, and the eloquence of cardinal Julian, his legate, were promoted by the circumstances of the times ; by the union of the two crowns on the head of Ladislaus, a young and ambitious soldier ; by the valour of a hero, whose name, the name of John Huniades, was already popular among the Christians, and formidable to the Turks. Many private warriors of France and Germany inlisted under the holy banner ; and the crusade derived some strength, or at least some reputation, from the new allies both of Europe and Asia. A fugitive despot of Servia exaggerated the distress and ardour of the Christians

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beyond the Danube, who would unanimously rise to vindicate religion and liberty. The Greek emperor, with a spirit unknown to his fathers, engaged to guard the Bosphorus, and to sally from Constantinople at the head of his national and mercenary troops. The sultan of Caramania announced the retreat of Amurath, and a powerful diversion in the heart of Anatolia; and if the fleets of the West could occupy at the same moment the straits of the Hellespont, the Ottoman monarchy would be dissevered and destroyed.

Ladislaus,
king of
Poland and
Hungary,
marches
against
them.

Of the Polish and Hungarian diets, a religious war was the unanimous cry; and Ladislaus, after passing the Danube, led an army of his confederate subjects as far as Sophia, the capital of the Bulgarian kingdom. In this expedition they obtained two signal victories, which were justly ascribed to the valour and conduct of Huniades. In the first, with a vanguard of ten thousand men, he surprised the Turkish camp; in the second, he vanquished and made prisoner the most renowned of their generals, who possessed the double advantage of ground and numbers. The approach of winter, and the natural and artificial obstacles of mount Hæmus, arrested the progress of the hero, who measured a narrow interval of six days' march from the foot of the mountains to the hostile towers of Adrianople, and the friendly capital of the Greek empire. The retreat was undisturbed; and the entrance into Buda was at once a military and religious triumph. An ecclesiastical procession was followed by the king and his warriors on foot: he nicely balanced the merits and rewards of the two nations; and the pride of conquest was blended with the humble temper of Christianity. Thirteen bashaws, nine standards, and four thousand captives, were unquestionable trophies; and as all were willing to believe, and none were present to contradict, the

crusaders multiplied, with unblushing confidence, the myriads of Turks whom they had left on the field of battle. The most solid proof, and the most salutary consequence, of victory, was a deputation from the divan to solicit peace, to restore Servia, to ransom the prisoners, and to evacuate the Hungarian frontier. By this treaty, the rational objects of the war were obtained: the king, the despot, and Huniades himself, in the diet of Segedin, were satisfied with public and private emolument, and a truce of ten years was concluded*.

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The
Turkish
peace.

During the whole transaction, the cardinal legate had observed a sullen silence, unwilling to approve, and unable to oppose, the consent of the king and people. But the diet was not dissolved before Julian was fortified by the welcome intelligence, that Anatolia was invaded by the Caramanian, and Thrace by the Greek, emperor; that the fleets of Genoa, Venice, and Burgundy, were masters of the Hellespont; and that the allies, informed of the victory, and ignorant of the treaty, of Ladislaus, impatiently waited for the return of his victorious army. "And is it thus," exclaimed the cardinal, "that you will desert their expectations and your own fortune? It is to them, to your God, and your fellow-Christians, that you have pledged your faith; and that prior obligation annihilates a rash and sacrilegious oath to the enemies of Christ. His vicar on earth is the Roman pontiff; without whose sanction you can neither promise nor perform. In his name I absolve your perjury and sanctify your arms: follow my footsteps in the paths of glory and salvation; and if still ye have scruples, devolve on my head the punishment and the sin." This mischievous casu-

Violation of
the peace,
A. D. 1444.

* See the origin of the Turkish war, and the first expedition of Ladislaus, in the fifth and sixth books of the third decade, of Bonfinius, who, in his division and style, copies Livy with tolerable success. Callimachus (l. ii. p. 487—496) is still more pure and authentic.

try was seconded by his respectable character, and the levity of popular assemblies ; war was resolved on the same spot where peace had so lately been sworn ; and, in the execution of the treaty, the Turks were assaulted by the Christians ; to whom, with some reason, they might apply the epithet of infidels. The falsehood of Ladislaus to his word and oath was palliated by the religion of the times : the most perfect, or at least the most popular, excuse would have been the success of his arms and the deliverance of the Eastern church. But the same treaty which should have bound his conscience had diminished his strength. On the proclamation of the peace, the French and German volunteers departed with indignant murmurs : the Poles were exhausted by distant warfare, and perhaps disgusted with foreign command ; and their palatines accepted the first licence, and hastily retired to their provinces and castles. Even Hungary was divided by faction, or restrained by a laudable scruple ; and the relics of the crusade that marched in the second expedition were reduced to an inadequate force of twenty thousand men. A Walachian chief, who joined the royal standard with his vassals, presumed to remark that their numbers did not exceed the hunting retinue that sometimes attended the sultan ; and the gift of two horses of matchless speed might admonish Ladislaus of his secret foresight of the event. But the despot of Servia, after the restoration of his country and children, was tempted by the promise of new realms : and the inexperience of the king, the enthusiasm of the legate, and the martial presumption of Huniades himself, were persuaded that every obstacle must yield to the invincible virtue of the sword and the cross. After the passage of the Danube, two roads might lead to Constantinople and the Hellespont ; the one direct, abrupt, and difficult, through the mountains of

Hæmus; the other more tedious and secure, over a level country, and along the shores of the Euxine; in which their flanks, according to the Scythian discipline, might always be covered by a moveable fortification of waggons. The latter was judiciously preferred; they marched through the plains of Bulgaria, and their last station was at Warna, near the sea-shore; on which the defeat and death of Ladislaus have bestowed a memorable name.

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It was on this fatal spot, that, instead of finding a confederate fleet to second their operations, they were alarmed by the approach of Amurath himself, who had issued from his Magnesian solitude, and transported the forces of Asia to the defence of Europe. According to some writers, the Greek emperor had been awed, or seduced, to grant the passage of the Bosphorus, and an indelible stain of corruption is fixed on the Genoese, or the pope's nephew, the Catholic admiral, whose mercenary connivance betrayed the guard of the Hellespont. From Adrianople, the sultan advanced by hasty marches, at the head of sixty thousand men; and when the cardinal, and Huniades, had taken a nearer survey of the numbers and order of the Turks, these ardent warriors proposed the tardy and impracticable measure of a retreat. The king alone was resolved to conquer or die; and his resolution had almost been crowned with a glorious and salutary victory. The princes were opposite to each other in the centre; and the Beglerbegs, or generals of Anatolia and Romania, commanded on the right and left against the adverse divisions of the despot and Huniades. The Turkish wings were broken on the first onset, but the advantage was fatal; and the rash victors, in the heat of the pursuit, were carried away far from the annoyance of the enemy or the support of their friends. When Amurath beheld the flight of

Battle of
Warna,
A. D. 1444,
Nov. 10.

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Death of
Ladislaus.

his squadrons, he despaired of his fortune and that of the empire: a veteran Janizary seized his horse's bridle; and he had magnanimity to pardon and reward the soldier who dared to perceive the terror, and arrest the flight, of his sovereign. With inferior numbers and disordered ranks, the king of Hungary rushed forwards in the confidence of victory, till his career was stopped by the impenetrable phalanx of the Janizaries. If we may credit the Ottoman annals, his horse was pierced by the javelin of Amurath; he fell among the spears of the infantry; and a Turkish soldier proclaimed with a loud voice, "Hungarians, behold the head of your king!" The death of Ladislaus was the signal of their defeat. On his return from an intemperate pursuit, Huniades deplored his error and the public loss: he strove to rescue the royal body, till he was overwhelmed by the tumultuous crowd of the victors and vanquished; and the last efforts of his courage and conduct were exerted to save the remnant of his Walachian cavalry. Ten thousand Christians were slain in the disastrous battle of Warna: the loss of the Turks, more considerable in numbers, bore a smaller proportion to their total strength; yet the philosophic sultan was not ashamed to confess, that his ruin must be the consequence of a second and similar victory. At his command a column was erected on the spot where Ladislaus had fallen; but the modest inscription, instead of accusing the rashness, recorded the valour, and bewailed the misfortune, of the Hungarian youth.

The cardinal
Julian.

Before I lose sight of the field of Warna, I am tempted to pause on the character and story of two principal actors, the cardinal Julian and John Huniades. Julian Cæsarini was born of a noble family of Rome: his studies had embraced both the Latin and Greek learning, both the sciences of divinity and law; and his versatile genius was equally adapted to

the schools, the camp, and the court. No sooner had he been invested with the Roman purple, than he was sent into Germany to arm the empire against the rebels and heretics of Bohemia. As the pope's legate, he opened the council of Basil. The cardinal withdrew himself from Basil to Ferrara; and, in the debates of the Greeks and Latins, the two nations admired the dexterity of his arguments, and the depth of his theological erudition. In his Hungarian embassy we have already seen the mischievous effects of his sophistry and eloquence, of which Julian himself was the first victim. The cardinal, who performed the duties of a priest and a soldier, was lost in the defeat of Warna. The circumstances of his death are variously related; but it is believed that a weighty incumbrance of gold impeded his flight, and tempted the cruel avarice of some Christian fugitives.

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From a humble, or at least a doubtful origin, the merit of John Huniades promoted him to the command of the Hungarian armies. His father was a Walachian, his mother a Greek; her unknown race might possibly ascend to the emperors of Constantinople; and the claims of the Walachians, with the surname of Corvinus, from the place of his nativity, might suggest a thin pretence for mingling his blood with the patricians of ancient Rome. In his youth he served in the wars of Italy, and was retained, with twelve horsemen, by the bishop of Zagrab: the valour of the *white knight* was soon conspicuous; he increased his fortunes by a noble and wealthy marriage; and in the defence of the Hungarian borders, he won in the same year three battles against the Turks. By his influence, Ladislaus of Poland obtained the crown of Hungary; and the important service was rewarded by the title and office of Waivod of Transylvania. The first of Julian's crusades added two Turkish laurels on his brow; and in the public distress the

John Cor-
vinus Hu-
niades.

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fatal errors of Warna were forgotten. During the absence and minority of Ladislaus of Austria, the titular king, Huniades, was elected supreme captain and governor of Hungary; and if envy at first was silenced by terror, a reign of twelve years supposes the arts of policy as well as of war. Yet the idea of a consummate general is not delineated in his campaigns; the white knight fought with the hand rather than the head, as the chief of desultory Barbarians, who attack without fear, and fly without shame; and his military life is composed of a romantic alternation of victories and escapes. By the Turks, who employed his name to frighten their perverse children, he was corruptly denominated *Jancus Lain*, or the Wicked: their hatred is the proof of their esteem; the kingdom which he guarded was inaccessible to their arms; and they felt him most daring and formidable, when they fondly believed the captain of his country irrecoverably lost. Instead of confining himself to a defensive war, four years after the defeat of Warna he again penetrated into the heart of Bulgaria; and in the plain of Cossova sustained, till the third day, the shock of the Ottoman army, four times more numerous than his own. As he fled alone through the woods of Walachia, the hero was surprised by two robbers; but while they disputed a gold chain that hung at his neck, he recovered his sword, slew the one, terrified the other, and, after new perils of captivity or death, consoled by his presence an afflicted kingdom. But the last and most glorious action of his life was the defence of Belgrade against the powers of Mahomet the Second in person. After a siege of forty days, the Turks, who had already entered the town, were compelled to retreat; and the joyful nations celebrated Huniades and Belgrade as the bulwarks of Christendom. About a month after this great deliverance, the champion expired;

His defence
of Belgrade,
and death,
A. D. 1456,
July 22,
Sept. 4.

and his most splendid epitaph is the regret of the Ottoman prince, who sighed that he could no longer hope for revenge against the single antagonist who had triumphed over his arms. On the first vacancy of the throne, Matthias Corvinus, a youth of eighteen years of age, was elected and crowned by the grateful Hungarians. His reign was prosperous and long: Matthias aspired to the glory of a conqueror and a saint; but his purest merit is the encouragement of learning; and the Latin orators and historians, who were invited from Italy by the son, have shed the lustre of their eloquence on the father's character*.

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In the lists of heroes, John Huniades and Scanderbeg are commonly associated†; and they are both entitled to our notice, since their occupation of the Ottoman arms delayed the ruin of the Greek empire. John Castriot, the father of Scanderbeg, was the hereditary prince of a small district of Epirus or Albania, between the mountains and the Adriatic sea. Unable to contend with the sultan's power, Castriot submitted to the hard conditions of peace and tribute: he delivered his four sons as the pledges of his fidelity; and the Christian youths, after receiving the mark of circumcision, were instructed in the Mahometan religion, and trained in the arms and arts of Turkish policy. The three elder brothers were confounded in the crowd of slaves; and the poison to which their deaths are ascribed cannot be verified or disproved by any positive evidence. Yet the suspi-

Birth and
education
of Scander-
beg, prince
of Albania,
A. D. 1404
—1413.

* See Bonfinius, *decad. iii. l. viii.*; *decad. iv. l. viii.* The observations of Spondanus on the life and character of Matthias Corvinus are curious and critical (A. D. 1464, No. 1. 1475, No. 6. 1476, No. 14—16, 1490, No. 4, 5). Italian fame was the object of his vanity. His actions are celebrated in the *Epitome Rerum Hungaricarum* (p. 322—412.) of Peter Ranzanus, a Sicilian. His wise and facetious sayings are registered by Galestus Martius of Narni (528—568): and we have a particular narrative of his wedding and coronation. These three tracts are all contained in the 1st vol. of Bel's *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*.

† They are ranked by Sir William Temple, in his pleasing *Essay on Heroic Virtue* (Works, vol. iii. p. 385), among the seven chiefs who have deserved, without wearing, a royal crown; Belisarius, Narses, Gonsalvo of Cordova, William first prince of Orange, Alexander duke of Parma, John Huniades, and George Castriot, or Scanderbeg.

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cion is in a great measure removed by the kind and paternal treatment of George Castriot, the fourth brother, who, from his tender youth, displayed the strength and spirit of a soldier. The successive overthrow of a Tartar and two Persians, who carried a proud defiance to the Turkish court, recommended him to the favour of Amurath ; and his Turkish appellation of Scanderbeg (*Iskender beg*), or the lord Alexander, is an indelible memorial of his glory and servitude. His father's principality was reduced into a province : but the loss was compensated by the rank and title of Sanjiak, a command of five thousand horse, and the prospect of the first dignities of the empire. He served with honour in the wars of Europe and Asia. The glory of Huniades is without reproach ; he fought in the defence of his religion and country ; but the enemies who applaud the patriot, have branded his rival with the name of traitor and apostate. In the eyes of the Christians, the rebellion of Scanderbeg is justified by his father's wrongs, the ambiguous death of his three brothers, his own degradation, and the slavery of his country ; and they adore the generous, though tardy, zeal, with which he asserted the faith and independence of his ancestors. In the confusion of a defeat, the eye of Scanderbeg was fixed on the Reis Effendi or principal secretary : with a dagger at his breast, he extorted a firman or patent for the government of Albania ; and the murder of the guiltless scribe and his train prevented the consequences of an immediate discovery. With some bold companions, to whom he had revealed his design, he escaped in the night, by rapid marches, from the field of battle to his paternal mountains. The gates of Croya were opened to the royal mandate : and no sooner did he command the fortress, than George Castriot dropped the mask of dissimulation ; abjured the prophet and the sultan, and pro-

His revolt
from the
Turks,
A. D. 1443,
Nov. 28.

claimed himself the avenger of his family and country. The names of religion and liberty provoked a general revolt: the Albanians, a martial race, were unanimous to live and die with their hereditary prince; and the Ottoman garrisons were indulged in the choice of martyrdom or baptism. In the assembly of the states of Epirus, Scanderbeg was elected general of the Turkish war; and each of the allies engaged to furnish his respective proportion of men and money. From these contributions, from his patrimonial estate, and from the valuable salt-pits of Selina, he drew an annual revenue of two hundred thousand ducats *; and the entire sum, exempt from the demands of luxury, was strictly appropriated to the public use. His manners were popular: but his discipline was severe; and every superfluous vice was banished from his camp: his example strengthened his command; and under his conduct, the Albanians were invincible in their own opinion and that of their enemies. The bravest adventurers of France and Germany were allured by his fame and retained in his service; his standing militia consisted of eight thousand horse and seven thousand foot; the horses were small, the men were active: but he viewed with a discerning eye the difficulties and resources of the mountains; and, at the blaze of the beacons, the whole nation was distributed in the strongest posts. With such unequal arms, Scanderbeg resisted twenty-three years the powers of the Ottoman empire; and two conquerors, Amurath the Second, and his greater son, were repeatedly baffled by a rebel, whom they pursued with seeming contempt and implacable resentment. At the head of sixty thousand horse and forty thousand Janizaries, Amurath entered Albania; he might ravage the open country, occupy the defenceless towns, convert the churches into moschs, circum-

His valour :

* His revenue and forces are luckily given by Marinus (l. ii. p. 44).

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cise the Christian youths, and punish with death his adult and obstinate captives; but the conquests of the sultan were confined to the petty fortress of Sfetigrade; and the garrison, invincible to his arms, were oppressed by a paltry artifice and a superstitious scruple. Amurath retired with shame and loss from the walls of Croya, the castle and residence of the Castriots; the march, the siege, the retreat, were harassed by a vexatious, and almost invisible, adversary; and the disappointment might tend to imbitter, perhaps to shorten, the last days of the sultan. In the fulness of conquest, Mahomet the Second still felt at his bosom this domestic thorn; his lieutenants were permitted to negotiate a truce; and the Albanian prince may justly be praised as a firm and able champion of his national independence. The enthusiasm of chivalry and religion has ranked him with the names of Alexander and Pyrrhus; nor would they blush to acknowledge their intrepid countryman: but his narrow dominion, and slender powers, must leave him at a humble distance below the heroes of antiquity, who triumphed over the East and the Roman legions. His splendid achievements, the bashaws whom he encountered, the armies that he discomfited, and the three thousand Turks who were slain by his single hand, must be weighed in the scales of suspicious criticism. Against an illiterate enemy, and in the dark solitude of Epirus, his partial biographers may safely indulge the latitude of romance: but their fictions are exposed by the light of Italian history; and they afford a strong presumption against their own truth, by a fabulous tale of his exploits, when he passed the Adriatic with eight hundred horse to the succour of the king of Naples. Without disparagement to his fame, they might have owned that he was finally oppressed by the Ottoman powers: in his extreme danger, he applied to pope Pius the Se-

cond for a refuge in the ecclesaistical state ; and his resources were almost exhausted, since Scanderbeg died a fugitive at Lissus on the Venetian territory. His sepulchre was soon violated by the Turkish conquerors ; but the Janizaries, who wore his bones enchased in a bracelet, declared by this superstitious amulet their involuntary reverence for his valour. The instant ruin of his country may redound to the hero's glory ; yet, had he balanced the consequences of submission and resistance, a patriot perhaps would have declined the unequal contest which must depend on the life and genius of one man. Scanderbeg might indeed be supported by the rational, though fallacious, hope, that the pope, the king of Naples, and the Venetian republic, would join in the defence of a free and Christian people, who guarded the sea-coast of the Adriatic, and the narrow passage from Greece to Italy. His infant son was saved from the national shipwreck ; the Castriots * were invested with a Neapolitan-dukedom, and their blood continues to flow in the noblest families of the realm. A colony of Albanian fugitives obtained a settlement in Calabria, and they preserve at this day the language and manners of their ancestors †.

In the long career of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, I have reached at length the last reign of the princes of Constantinople, who so feebly sustained the name and majesty of the Cæsars. On the decease of John Palæologus, who survived about four years the Hungarian crusade ‡, the royal family, by the death of Andronicus, and the monastic profession of Isidore, was reduced to three princes, Constantine, Demetrius, and Thomas, the surviving sons

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and death,
A. D. 1467.
Jan. 17.

Constantine the last
of the Roman or
Greek emperors,
A. D. 1448,
Nov. 8—
A. D. 1453,
May 29.

* See the family of the Castriots, in Ducange (*Fam. Dalmaticæ*, &c. xviii. p. 343—350).

† This colony of Albanese is mentioned by Mr. Swinburne (*Travels into the two Sicilies*, vol. i. p. 350—354).

‡ The chronology of Phranza is clear and authentic.

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of the emperor Manuel. Of these the first and the last were far distant in the Morea : but Demetrius, who possessed the domain of Selybria, was in the suburbs, at the head of a party : his ambition was not chilled by the public distress ; and his conspiracy with the Turks and the schismatics had already disturbed the peace of his country. The funeral of the late emperor was accelerated with singular and even suspicious haste : the claim of Demetrius to the vacant throne was justified by a trite and flimsy sophism, that he was born in the purple, the eldest son of his father's reign. But the empress-mother, the senate and soldiers, the clergy and people, were unanimous in the cause of the lawful successor ; and the despot Thomas, who, ignorant of the change, accidentally returned to the capital, asserted with becoming zeal the interest of his absent brother. An ambassador, the historian Phranza, was immediately despatched to the court of Adrianople. Amurath received him with honour and dismissed him with gifts ; but the gracious approbation of the Turkish sultan announced his supremacy, and the approaching downfall of the Eastern empire. By the hands of two illustrious deputies, the Imperial crown was placed at Sparta on the head of Constantine. In the spring he sailed from the Morea, escaped the encounter of a Turkish squadron, enjoyed the acclamations of his subjects, celebrated the festival of a new reign, and exhausted by his donatives the treasure, or rather the indigence, of the state. The emperor immediately resigned to his brothers the possession of the Morea ; and the brittle friendship of the two princes, Demetrius and Thomas, was confirmed in their mother's presence by the frail security of oaths and embraces. His next occupation was the choice of a consort. A daughter of the doge of Venice had been proposed ; but the Byzantine nobles objected the distance be-

tween an hereditary monarch and an elective magistrate; and in their subsequent distress, the chief of that powerful republic was not unmindful of the affront. Constantine afterwards hesitated between the royal families of Trebizond and Georgia; and the embassy of Phranza represents in his public and private life the last days of the Byzantine empire*.

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The *protovestiare*, or great chamberlain, Phranza sailed from Constantinople as minister of a bridegroom; and the relics of wealth and luxury were applied to his pompous appearance. His numerous retinue consisted of nobles and guards, of physicians and monks: he was attended by a band of music; and the term of his costly embassy was protracted above two years. On his arrival in Georgia or Iberia, the natives from the towns and villages flocked around the strangers; and such was their simplicity, that they were delighted with the effects, without understanding the cause, of musical harmony. Among the crowd was an old man, above a hundred years of age, who had formerly been carried away a captive by the Barbarians, and who amused his hearers with a tale of the wonders of India, from whence he had returned to Portugal by an unknown sea. From this hospitable land, Phranza proceeded to the court of Trebizond, where he was informed by the Greek prince of the recent decease of Amurath. Instead of rejoicing in the deliverance, the experienced statesman expressed his apprehension that an ambitious youth would not long adhere to the sage and pacific system of his father. After the sultan's decease, his Christian wife Maria, the daughter of the Servian despot, had been honourably restored to her parents; on the fame of her beauty and merit, she was recommended by the ambassador as the most worthy object of the royal choice; and Phranza recapitulates

Embassies
of Phranza,
A. D. 1450
—1452.

* Phranza (l. iii. c. 1—6.) deserves credit and esteem.

CHAP.
XLIX.

and refutes the specious objections that might be raised against the proposal. The majesty of the purple would ennoble an unequal alliance; the bar of affinity might be removed by liberal alms and the dispensation of the church; the disgrace of Turkish nuptials had been repeatedly overlooked; and, though the fair Maria was near fifty years of age, she might yet hope to give an heir to the empire. Constantine listened to the advice, which was transmitted in the first ship that sailed from Trebizond; but the factions of the court opposed his marriage; and it was finally prevented by the pious vow of the sultana, who ended her days in the monastic profession. Reduced to the first alternative, the choice of Phranza was decided in favour of a Georgian princess; and the vanity of her father was dazzled by the glorious alliance. Instead of demanding, according to the primitive and national custom, a price for his daughter, he offered a portion of fifty-six thousand, with an annual pension of five thousand ducats; and the services of the ambassador were repaid by an assurance, that as his son had been adopted in baptism by the emperor, the establishment of his daughter should be the peculiar care of the empress of Constantinople. On the return of Phranza, the treaty was ratified by the Greek monarch, who with his own hand impressed three vermilion crosses on the Golden Bull, and assured the Georgian envoy, that in the spring his galleys should conduct the bride to her Imperial palace. But Constantine embraced his faithful servant, not with the cold approbation of a sovereign, but with the warm confidence of a friend, who, after a long absence, is impatient to pour his secrets into the bosom of his friend. "Since the death of my mother and
" of Cantacuzene, who alone advised me without in-
" terest or passion *, I am surrounded," said the

State of
the Byzan-
tine court.

* Cantacuzene (I am ignorant of his relation to the emperor of that name) was Great Domestic, a firm assertor of the Greek creed, and a brother of the queen of

emperor, "by men whom I can neither love, nor trust, nor esteem. You are not a stranger to Lucas Notaras, the great admiral; obstinately attached to his own sentiments, he declares, both in private and public, that his sentiments are the absolute measure of my thoughts and actions. The rest of the courtiers are swayed by their personal or factious views; and how can I consult the monks on the questions of policy and marriage? I have yet much employment for your diligence and fidelity. In the spring you shall engage one of my brothers to solicit the succour of the Western powers; from the Morea you shall sail to Cyprus on a particular commission; and from thence proceed to Georgia to receive and conduct the future empress." "Your commands," replied Phranza, "are irresistible; but deign, great sir," he added, with a serious smile, "to consider, that if I am thus perpetually absent from my family, my wife may be tempted either to seek another husband, or to throw herself into a monastery." After laughing at his apprehensions, the emperor more gravely consoled him by the pleasing assurance that *this* should be his last service abroad, and that he destined for his son a wealthy and noble heiress; for himself, the important office of great logothete, or principal minister of state. The marriage was immediately stipulated; but the office, however incompatible with his own, had been usurped by the ambition of the admiral. Some delay was requisite to negotiate a consent and an equivalent; and the nomination of Phranza was half declared, and half suppressed, lest it might be displeasing to an insolent and powerful favourite. The winter was spent in the preparations of his embassy; and Phranza had resolved, that the

Servia, whom he visited with the character of ambassador (Syrepulus, p. 37, 38. 45).

CHAP. youth his son should embrace this opportunity of
XLIX. foreign travel, and be left, on the appearance of
danger, with his maternal kindred of the Morea.
Such were the private and public designs, which were
interrupted by a Turkish war, and finally buried in
the ruins of the empire.

CHAP. L.

Reign and Character of Mahomet the Second.—Siege, Assault, and final Conquest, of Constantinople by the Turks.—Death of Constantine Palæologus.—Servitude of the Greeks.—Extinction of the Roman Empire in the East.—Consternation of Europe.—Conquests and Death of Mahomet the Second.

THE siege of Constantinople by the Turks attracts our first attention to the person and character of the great destroyer. Mahomet the Second * was the son of the second Amurath ; and though his mother has been decorated with the titles of Christian and princess, she is more probably confounded with the numerous concubines who peopled from every climate the haram of the sultan. His first education and sentiments were those of a devout Musulman ; and as often as he conversed with an infidel, he purified his hands and face by the legal rites of ablution. Age and empire appear to have relaxed this narrow bigotry : his aspiring genius disdained to acknowledge a power above his own ; and in his looser hours he presumed (it is said) to brand the prophet of Mecca as a robber and impostor. Yet the sultan persevered in a decent reverence for the doctrine and discipline of the Koran : his private indiscretion must have been sacred from the vulgar ear ; and we should suspect the credulity of strangers and sectaries, so prone to believe that a mind which is hardened against truth

CHAP.
L.

Character of
Mahomet
II.

* For the character of Mahomet II. it is dangerous to trust either the Turks or the Christians. The most moderate picture appears to be drawn by Phranza (l. i. c. 32), whose resentment had cooled in age and solitude : see likewise Spondanus (A. D. 1451, No. 11), and the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii. p. 552), the *Elogia* of Paulus Jovius (l. iii. p. 164—166), and the *Dictionaire de Bayle* (tom. iii. p. 272—279).

CHAP.
L

must be armed with superior contempt for absurdity and error. Under the tuition of the most skilful masters, Mahomet advanced with an early and rapid progress in the paths of knowledge ; and besides his native tongue, it is affirmed that he spoke or understood five languages, the Arabic, the Persian, the Chaldaean, or Hebrew, the Latin, and the Greek. The Persian might indeed contribute to his amusement, and the Arabic to his edification ; and such studies are familiar to the Oriental youth. In the intercourse of the Greeks and Turks, a conqueror might wish to converse with the people over whom he was ambitious to reign ; his own praises in Latin poetry or prose might find a passage to the royal ear ; but what use could recommend to the statesman, or the scholar, the dialect of his Hebrew slaves ? The history and geography of the world were familiar to his memory : the lives of the heroes of the East, perhaps of the West, excited his emulation : his skill in astrology is excused by the folly of the times, and supposes some rudiments of mathematical science ; and a profane taste for the arts is betrayed in his liberal invitation and reward of the painters of Italy. But the influence of religion and learning were employed without effect on his savage and licentious nature. I will not transcribe, nor do I firmly believe, the stories of his fourteen pages, whose bellies were ripped open in search of a stolen melon ; or of the beautiful slave, whose head he severed from her body, to convince the Janizaries that her master was not the votary of love. His sobriety is attested by the silence of the Turkish annals, which accuse three, and three only, of the Ottoman line of the vice of drunkenness. But it cannot be denied that his passions were at once furious and inexorable ; that in the palace, as in the field, a torrent of blood was spilt on the slightest provocation ; and that the noblest of the captive youth

were often dishonoured by his unnatural lust. In the Albanian war, he studied the lessons, and soon surpassed the example, of his father; and the conquest of two empires, twelve kingdoms, and two hundred cities, a vain and flattering account, is ascribed to his invincible sword. He was doubtless a soldier, and possibly a general; Constantinople has sealed his glory; but if we compare the means, the obstacles, and the achievements, Mahomet the Second must blush to sustain a parallel with Alexander or Timour. Under his command, the Ottoman forces were always more numerous than their enemies; and yet their progress was bounded by the Euphrates and the Adriatic; and his arms were checked by Huniades and Scanderbeg, by the Rhodian knights, and by the Persian king.

In the reign of Amurath, he twice tasted of royalty and twice descended from the throne: his tender age was incapable of opposing his father's restoration, but never could he forgive the vizirs who had recommended that salutary measure. His nuptials were celebrated with the daughter of a Turkman emir: and after a festival of two months, he departed from Adrianople with his bride to reside in the government of Magnesia. Before the end of six weeks he was recalled by a sudden message from the divan, which announced the decease of Amurath, and the mutinous spirit of the Janizaries. His speed and vigour commanded their obedience; he passed the Hellespont with a chosen guard; and at the distance of a mile from Adrianople, the vizirs and emirs, the imams and cadhis, the soldiers and the people, fell prostrate before the new sultan. They affected to weep; they affected to rejoice; he ascended the throne at the age of twenty-one years, and removed the cause of sedition by the death, the inevitable death, of his infant brothers. The ambassadors of

CHAP.
L

His reign,
A. D. 1451,
Feb. 9—
A. D. 1481,
July 2.

CHAP.
L.

Europe and Asia soon appeared to congratulate his accession, and solicit his friendship; and to all he spoke the language of moderation and peace. The confidence of the Greek emperor was revived by the solemn oaths and fair assurances with which he sealed the ratification of the treaty; and a rich domain on the banks of the Strymon was assigned for the annual payment of three hundred thousand aspers, the pension of an Ottoman prince, who was detained at his request in the Byzantine court. Yet the neighbours of Mahomet might tremble at the severity with which a youthful monarch reformed the pomp of his father's household: the expenses of luxury were applied to those of ambition, and an useless train of seven thousand falconers was either dismissed from his service, or inlisted in his troops. In the first summer of his reign, he visited with an army the Asiatic provinces; but after humbling the pride, Mahomet accepted the submission, of the Caramanian, that he might not be diverted by the smallest obstacle from the execution of his great design*.

Hostile intentions of Mahomet, A. D. 1452.

The Mahometan, and more especially the Turkish casuists, have pronounced that no promise can bind the faithful against the interest and duty of their religion; and that the sultan may abrogate his own treaties and those of his predecessors. The justice and magnanimity of Amurath had scorned this immoral privilege; but his son, though the proudest of men, could stoop from ambition to the basest arts of dissimulation and deceit. Peace was on his lips, while war was in his heart: he incessantly sighed for the possession of Constantinople; and the Greeks, by their own indiscretion, afforded the first pretence of the fatal rupture†. Instead of labouring to be for-

* See the accession of Mahomet II. in Ducas (c. 33), Phranza (l. i. c. 33. l. iii. c. 2), Chalcocondyles (l. vii. p. 199), and Cantemir (p. 96).

† Before I enter on the siege of Constantinople I shall observe, that except the short hints of Cantemir and Leunclavius, I have not been able to obtain any Turkish

gotten, their ambassadors pursued his camp, to demand the payment, and even the increase, of their annual stipend: the divan was importuned by their complaints, and the vizir, a secret friend of the Christians, was constrained to deliver the sense of his brethren. "Ye foolish and miserable Romans," said Calil, "we know your devices, and ye are ignorant of your own danger! the scrupulous Amurath is no more; his throne is occupied by a young conqueror, whom no laws can bind, and no obstacles can resist; and if you escape from his hands, give praise to the divine clemency, which yet delays the chastisement of your sins. Why do ye seek to affright us by vain and indirect menaces? Release the fugitive Orchan, crown him sultan of Rumania; call the Hungarians from beyond the Danube; arm against us the nations of the West; and be assured that you will only provoke and precipitate your ruin." But if the fears of the ambassadors were alarmed by the stern language of the vizir, they were soothed by the courteous audience and friendly speeches of the Ottoman prince; and Mahomet assured them that on his return to Adrianople he would redress the grievances, and consult the true interest, of the Greeks. No sooner had he repassed the Hellespont, than he issued a mandate to suppress their pension, and to expel their officers from the banks of

account of this conquest; such an account as we possess of the siege of Rhodes by Soliman II. (*Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxvi. p. 723—769.) I must therefore depend on the Greeks, whose prejudices, in some degree, are subdued by their distress. Our standard texts are those of Ducas (c. 34—42), Phranza (l. iii. c. 7—20), Chalcocondyles (l. viii. p. 201—214), and Leonardus Chiensis (*Historia C. P. a Turco expugnatae*. Norimbergæ, 1544, in 4to, 20 leaves). The last of these narratives is the earliest in date, since it was composed in the isle of Chios, the 16th of August, 1453, only seventy-nine days after the loss of the city, and in the first confusion of ideas and passions. Some hints may be added from an epistle of Cardinal Isidore (in *Farragine Rerum Turcicarum*, ad calcem Chalcocondyl. Cluseri, Basil, 1556) to Pope Nicholas V. and a tract of Theodosius Zygomala, which he addressed in the year 1581 to Martin Crusius (*Turco Græcia*, l. ii. p. 74—98. Basil, 1584.) The various facts and materials are briefly, though critically, reviewed by Spondanus (*A. D.* 1453, No. 1—27). The hearsay relations of Monstrelet and the distant Latins I shall take leave to disregard.

CHAP.
L.

the Strymon : in this measure he betrayed a hostile mind ; and the second order announced, and in some degree commenced, the siege of Constantinople. In the narrow pass of the Bosphorus, an Asiatic fortress had formerly been raised by his grandfather : in the opposite situation, on the European side, he resolved to erect a more formidable castle ; and a thousand masons were commanded to assemble in the spring on a spot named Asomaton, about five miles from the Greek metropolis *. Persuasion is the resource of the feeble ; and the feeble can seldom persuade : the ambassadors of the emperor attempted, without success, to divert Mahomet from the execution of his design. They represented that his grandfather had solicited the permission of Manuel to build a castle on his own territories ; but that this double fortification, which would command the strait, could only tend to violate the alliance of the nations ; to intercept the Latins who traded in the Black Sea, and perhaps to annihilate the subsistence of the city. “ I form no “ enterprise,” replied the perfidious sultan, “ against “ the city : but the empire of Constantinople is mea- “ sured by her walls. Have you forgot the distress “ to which my father was reduced, when you formed “ a league with the Hungarians : when they invaded “ our country by land, and the Hellespont was occu- “ pied by the French galleys ? Amurath was com- “ pelled to force the passage of the Bosphorus ; and “ your strength was not equal to your malevolence : “ I was then a child at Adrianople ; the Moslems “ trembled ; and for a while the *Gabours* insulted “ our disgrace. But when my father had triumphed

* The situation of the fortress, and the topography of the Bosphorus, are best learned from Peter Gyllius (*de Bosphoro Thracio*, l. ii. c. 13), Leunclavius (*Pandect*, p. 445), and Tournefort (*Voyage dans le Levant*, tom. ii. lettre xv. p. 443, 444) ; but I must regret the map or plan which Tournefort sent to the French minister of the marine. The reader may turn back to vol. iii. ch. 17. of this History.

“ in the field of Warnæ, he vowed to erect a fort on
 “ the western shore, and that vow it is my duty to
 “ accomplish. Have ye the right, have ye the power,
 “ to control my actions on my own ground? For
 “ that ground *is* my own : as far as the shores of the
 “ Bosphorus, Asia is inhabited by the Turks, and
 “ Europe is deserted by the Romans. Return, and
 “ inform your king, that the present Ottoman is far
 “ different from his predecessors ; that *his* resolutions
 “ surpass *their* wishes ; and that *he* performs more
 “ than *they* could resolve. Return in safety—but
 “ the next who delivers a similar message may expect
 “ to be flayed alive.” After this declaration, Con-
 stantine, the first of the Greeks in spirit as in rank,
 had determined to unsheath the sword, and to resist
 the approach and establishment of the Turks on the
 Bosphorus. He was disarmed by the advice of his
 civil and ecclesiastical ministers, who recommended
 a system less generous, and even less prudent, than
 his own, to approve their patience and long suffering,
 to brand the Ottoman with the name and guilt of an
 aggressor, and to depend on chance and time for
 their own safety, and the destruction of a fort which
 could not long be maintained in the neighbourhood
 of a great and populous city. Amidst hope and
 fear, the fears of the wise, and the hopes of the cre-
 dulous, the winter rolled away ; the proper business of
 each man, and each hour, was postponed ; and the
 Greeks shut their eyes against the impending danger,
 till the arrival of the spring and the sultan decided the
 assurance of their ruin.

Of a master who never forgives, the orders are
 seldom disobeyed. On the twenty-sixth of March,
 the appointed spot of Asomaton was covered with an
 active swarm of Turkish artificers ; and the materials
 by sea and land were diligently transported from
 Europe and Asia. The lime had been burnt in Ca-

CHAP.
 I.

He builds a
 fortress on
 the Bos-
 phorus,
 A.D. 1452.
 March.

CHAP.
L

taphrygia ; the timber was cut down in the woods of Heraclea and Nicomedia ; and the stones were dug from the Anatolian quarries. Each of the thousand masons was assisted by two workmen ; and a measure of two cubits was marked for their daily task. The fortress was built in a triangular form ; each angle was flanked by a strong and massy tower ; one on the declivity of the hill, two along the sea-shore : a thickness of twenty-two feet was assigned for the walls, thirty for the towers ; and the whole building was covered with a solid platform of lead. Mahomet himself pressed and directed the work with indefatigable ardour : his three vizirs claimed the honour of finishing their respective towers ; the zeal of the cadhis emulated that of the Janizaries ; the meanest labour was ennobled by the service of God and the sultan ; and the diligence of the multitude was quickened by the eye of a despot, whose smile was the hope of fortune, and whose frown was the messenger of death. The Greek emperor beheld with terror the irresistible progress of the work ; and vainly strove, by flattery and gifts, to assuage an implacable foe, who sought, and secretly fomented, the slightest occasion of a quarrel. Such occasions must soon and inevitably be found. The ruins of stately churches, and even the marble columns which had been consecrated to St. Michael the archangel, were employed without scruple by the profane and rapacious Moslems ; and some Christians who presumed to oppose the removal received from their hands the crown of martyrdom. Constantine had solicited a Turkish guard to protect the fields and harvests of his subjects : the guard was fixed ; but their first order was to allow free pasture to the mules and horses of the camp, and to defend their brethren if they should be molested by the natives. The retinue of an Ottoman chief had left their horses to pass the night among the ripe corn :

the damage was felt; the insult was resented; and several of both nations were slain in a tumultuous conflict. Mahomet listened with joy to the complaint; and a detachment was commanded to exterminate the guilty village: the guilty had fled; but forty innocent and unsuspecting reapers were massacred by the soldiers. Till this provocation, Constantinople had been open to the visits of commerce and curiosity: on the first alarm, the gates were shut; but the emperor, still anxious for peace, released on the third day his Turkish captives; and expressed in a last message the firm resignation of a Christian and a soldier. "Since neither oaths, nor treaty, nor submission, can secure peace, pursue," said he to Mahomet, "your impious warfare. My trust is in God alone: if it should please him to mollify your heart, I shall rejoice in the happy change; if he delivers the city into your hands, I submit without a murmur to his holy will. But until the judge of the earth shall pronounce between us, it is my duty to live and die in the defence of my people." The sultan's answer was hostile and decisive: his fortifications were completed; and before his departure for Adrianople, he stationed a vigilant Aga and four hundred Janizaries, to levy a tribute of the ships of every nation that should pass within the range of their cannon. A Venetian vessel, refusing obedience to the new lords of the Bosphorus, was sunk with a single bullet. The master and thirty sailors escaped in the boat; but they were dragged in chains to the *porte*: the chief was impaled; his companions were beheaded; and the historian Ducas beheld at Demotica their bodies exposed to the wild beasts. The siege of Constantinople was deferred till the ensuing spring; but an Ottoman army marched into the Morea to divert the force of the brothers of Constantine. At this

CHAP.
L.The Turk-
ish war,
June;

Sept. 1;

CHAP. æra of calamity, one of these princes, the despot
 L. Toomas, was blessed or afflicted with the birth of a
 A.D. 1453, son ; “ the last heir,” says the plaintive Phranza, “ of
 Jan. 17. “ the last spark of the Roman empire.”

Prepara-
 tions for the
 siege of
 Constan-
 tinople,
 A.D. 1452,
 September,
 —A.D.
 1453.

The Greeks and the Turks passed an anxious and sleepless winter : the former were kept awake by their fears, the latter by their hopes ; both by the preparations of defence and attack ; and the two emperors, who had the most to lose or to gain, were the most deeply affected by the national sentiment. In Mahomet, that sentiment was inflamed by the ardour of his youth and temper : he amused his leisure with building at Adrianople the lofty palace of Jehan Numa (the watch tower of the world) ; but his serious thoughts were irrevocably bent on the conquest of the city of Cæsar. At the dead of night, about the second watch, he started from his bed, and commanded the instant attendance of his prime vizir. The message, the hour, the prince, and his own situation, alarmed the guilty conscience of Calil Basha ; who had possessed the confidence, and advised the restoration, of Amurath. On the accession of the son, the vizir was confirmed in his office and the appearances of favour ; but the veteran statesman was not insensible that he trod on a thin and slippery ice, which might break under his footsteps, and plunge him in the abyss. His friendship for the Christians, which might be innocent under the late reign, had stigmatised him with the name of Gabour Ortachi, or foster-brother of the infidels ; and his avarice entertained a venal and treasonable correspondence, which was detected and punished after the conclusion of the war. On receiving the royal mandate, he embraced, perhaps for the last time, his wife and children ; filled a cup with pieces of gold, hastened to the palace, adored the sultan, and offered, according to the Oriental custom, the slight tribute of his

duty and gratitude. "It is not my wish," said CHAP.
L.
 "Mahomet, "to resume my gifts, but rather to
 "heap and multiply them on thy head. In my
 "turn I ask a present far more valuable and import-
 "ant ;—Constantinople." As soon as the vizir had
 recovered from his surprise, "The same God," said
 he, "who has already given thee so large a portion
 "of the Roman empire, will not deny the remnant,
 "and the capital. His providence, and thy power,
 "assure thy success ; and myself, with the rest of thy
 "faithful slaves, will sacrifice our lives and fortunes."
 "Lala," (or preceptor), continued the sultan, "do
 "you see this pillow ? all the night, in my agitation,
 "I have pulled on one side and the other ; I have
 "risen from my bed, again have I lain down ; yet
 "sleep has not visited these weary eyes. Beware of
 "the gold and silver of the Romans : in arms we
 "are superior ; and with the aid of God, and the
 "prayers of the prophet, we shall speedily become
 "masters of Constantinople." To sound the dis-
 position of his soldiers, he often wandered through the
 streets alone, and in disguise ; and it was fatal to dis-
 cover the sultan, when he wished to escape from the
 vulgar eye. His hours were spent in delineating the
 plan of the hostile city ; in debating with his generals
 and engineers, on what spot he should erect his bat-
 teries ; on which side he should assault the walls ;
 where he should spring his mines ; to what place he
 should apply his scaling-ladders : and the exercises
 of the day repeated and proved the lucubrations of
 the night.

Among the implements of destruction, he studied
 with peculiar care the recent and tremendous dis-
 covery of the Latins ; and his artillery surpassed
 whatever had yet appeared in the world. A founder
 of cannon, a Dane or Hungarian, who had been
 almost starved in the Greek service, deserted to the

The great
 cannon of
 Mahomet.

CHAP.
L.

Moslems, and was liberally entertained by the Turkish sultan. Mahomet was satisfied with the answer to his first question, which he eagerly pressed on the artist. "Am I able to cast a cannon capable of throwing a ball or stone of sufficient size to batter the walls of Constantinople?" "I am not ignorant of their strength, but were they more solid than those of Babylon, I could oppose an engine of superior power; the position and management of that engine must be left to your engineers." On this assurance, a foundery was established at Adrianople: the metal was prepared; and at the end of three months, Urban produced a piece of brass ordnance of stupendous, and almost incredible, magnitude; a measure of twelve palms is assigned to the bore; and the stone bullet weighed above six hundred pounds. A vacant place before the new palace was chosen for the first experiment; but to prevent the sudden and mischievous effects of astonishment and fear, a proclamation was issued, that the cannon would be discharged the ensuing day. The explosion was felt or heard in a circuit of a hundred furlongs: the ball, by the force of gunpowder, was driven above a mile; and on the spot where it fell, it buried itself a fathom deep in the ground. For the conveyance of this destructive engine, a frame or carriage of thirty waggons was linked together and drawn along by a team of sixty oxen: two hundred men on both sides were stationed to poise or support the rolling weight; two hundred and fifty workmen marched before to smooth the way and repair the bridges; and near two months were employed in a laborious journey of one hundred and fifty miles. A lively philosopher derides on this occasion the credulity of the Greeks, and observes, with much reason, that we should always distrust the exaggerations of a vanquished people. He calculates, that a ball, even of two

hundred pounds, would require a charge of one hundred and fifty pounds of powder; and that the stroke would be feeble and impotent, since not a fifteenth part of the mass could be inflamed at the same moment. A stranger as I am to the art of destruction, I can discern that the modern improvements of artillery prefer the number of pieces to the weight of metal; the quickness of the fire to the sound, or even the consequence, of a single explosion. Yet I dare not reject the positive and unanimous evidence of contemporary writers; nor can it seem improbable, that the first artists, in their rude and ambitious efforts, should have transgressed the standard of moderation. A Turkish cannon, more enormous than that of Mahomet, still guards the entrance of the Dardanelles; and if the use be inconvenient, it has been found on a late trial that the effect was far from contemptible. A stone bullet of *eleven* hundred pounds weight was once discharged with three hundred and thirty pounds of powder; at the distance of six hundred yards it shivered into three rocky fragments, traversed the strait, and, leaving the waters in a foam, again rose and bounded against the opposite hill.

While Mahomet threatened the capital of the East, the Greek emperor implored with fervent prayers the assistance of earth and heaven. But Christendom beheld with indifference the fall of Constantinople, while she derived at least some promise of supply from the jealous and temporal policy of the sultan of Egypt. Some states were too weak, and others too remote; by some the danger was considered as imaginary, by others as inevitable: the Western princes were involved in their endless and domestic quarrels; and the Roman pontiff was exasperated by the falsehood or obstinacy of the Greeks. Instead of em-

CHAP.
L.

Mahomet
II. forms
the siege of
Constantinople,
A.D. 1453,
April 6.

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L.

ploying in their favour the arms and treasures of Italy, Nicholas the fifth had foretold their approaching ruin ; and his honour was engaged in the accomplishment of his prophecy. Perhaps he was softened by the last extremity of their distress ; but his compassion was tardy ; his efforts were faint and unavailing ; and Constantinople had fallen before the squadrons of Genoa and Venice could sail from their harbours. Even the princes of the Morea and of the Greek islands affected a cold neutrality ; the Genoese colony of Galata negotiated a private treaty ; and the sultan indulged them in the delusive hope, that by his clemency they might survive the ruin of the empire. A plebeian crowd, and some Byzantine nobles, basely withdrew from the danger of their country ; and the avarice of the rich denied the emperor, and reserved for the Turks, the secret treasures which might have raised in their defence whole armies of mercenaries. The indigent and solitary prince prepared, however, to sustain his formidable adversary ; but if his courage were equal to the peril, his strength was inadequate to the contest. In the beginning of the spring, the Turkish vanguard swept the towns and villages as far as the gates of Constantinople : submission was spared and protected ; whatever presumed to resist was exterminated with fire and sword. The Greek places on the Black Sea, Mesembria, Acheloum, and Bizon surrendered on the first summons ; Selybria alone deserved the honours of a siege or blockade ; and the bold inhabitants, while they were invested by land, launched their boats, pillaged the opposite coast of Cyzicus, and sold their captives in the public market. But on the approach of Mahomet himself all was silent and prostrate : he first halted at the distance of five miles ; and from thence advancing in battle array, planted before the gate of

St. Romanus the imperial standard ; and on the sixth day of April, formed the memorable siege of Constantinople.

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The troops of Asia and Europe extended on the right and left from the Propontis to the harbour : the Janizaries in the front were stationed before the sultan's tent ; the Ottoman line was covered by a deep entrenchment ; and a subordinate army inclosed the suburb of Galata, and watched the doubtful faith of the Genoese. The inquisitive Philelphus, who resided in Greece about thirty years before the siege, is confident, that all the Turkish forces, of any name or value, could not exceed the number of sixty thousand horse and twenty thousand foot ; and he upbraids the pusillanimity of the nations, who had tamely yielded to a handful of Barbarians. Such indeed might be the regular establishment of the *Capiculi*, the troops of the Porte, who marched with the prince, and were paid from his royal treasury. But the bashaws, in their respective governments, maintained or levied a provincial militia ; many lands were held by a military tenure ; many volunteers were attracted by the hope of spoil ; and the sound of the holy trumpet invited a swarm of hungry and fearless fanatics, who might contribute at least to multiply the terrors, and in a first attack to blunt the swords, of the Christians. The whole mass of the Turkish powers is magnified by Ducas, Chalcocondyles, and Leonard of Chios, to the amount of three or four hundred thousand men ; but Phranza was a less remote and more accurate judge ; and his precise definition of two hundred and fifty-eight thousand does not exceed the measure of experience and probability. The navy of the besiegers was less formidable : the Propontis was overspread with three hundred and twenty sail ; but of these no more than eighteen could be rated as galleys of war ; and the far greater

Forces of
the Turks.

CHAP. L. part must be degraded to the condition of storeships
 and transports, which poured into the camp fresh
 supplies of men, ammunition, and provisions. In
 her last decay, Constantinople was still peopled with
 more than a hundred thousand inhabitants : but these
 numbers are found in the accounts, not of war, but
 of captivity ; and they mostly consisted of mechanics,
 of priests, of women, and of men devoid of that spirit
 which even women have sometimes exerted for the
 common safety. I can suppose, I could almost ex-
 cuse, the reluctance of subjects to serve on a distant
 frontier, at the will of a tyrant ; but the man who
 dares not expose his life in the defence of his children
 and his property has lost in society the first and most
 active energies of nature. By the emperor's com-
 mand, a particular inquiry had been made through
 the streets and houses, how many of the citizens, or
 even of the monks, were able and willing to bear
 arms for their country. The lists were intrusted to
 Phranza ; and, after a diligent addition, he informed
 his master, with grief and surprise, that the national
 defence was reduced to four thousand nine hundred
 and seventy *Romans*. Between Constantine and his
 faithful minister this comfortless secret was preserved ;
 and a sufficient proportion of shields, cross-bows, and
 muskets, was distributed from the arsenal to the city
 bands. They derived some accession from a body of
 two thousand strangers, under the command of John
 Justiniani, a noble Genoese : a liberal donative was
 advanced to these auxiliaries ; and a princely recom-
 pense, the isle of Lemnos, was promised to the valour
 and victory of their chief. A strong chain was drawn
 across the mouth of the harbour : it was supported by
 some Greek and Italian vessels of war and merchan-
 dise ; and the ships of every Christian nation, that
 successively arrived from Candia and the Black Sea,
 were detained for the public service. Against the

of the
 Greeks.

powers of the Ottoman empire, a city of the extent of thirteen, perhaps of sixteen miles, was defended by a scanty garrison of seven or eight thousand soldiers. Europe and Asia were open to the besiegers ; but the strength and provisions of the Greeks must sustain a daily decrease ; nor could they indulge the expectation of any foreign succour or supply.

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Before his death, the emperor John Palæologus had renounced the unpopular measure of a union with the Latins ; nor was the idea revived till the distress of his brother Constantine imposed a last trial of flattery and dissimulation. With the demand of temporal aid, his ambassadors were instructed to mingle the assurance of spiritual obedience : his neglect of the church was excused by the urgent cares of the state ; and his orthodox wishes solicited the presence of a Roman legate. The Vatican had been too often deluded ; yet the signs of repentance could not decently be overlooked : a legate was more easily granted than an army ; and about six months before the final destruction, the cardinal Isidore of Russia appeared in that character, with a retinue of priests and soldiers. The emperor saluted him as a friend and father ; respectfully listened to his public and private sermons ; and, with the most obsequious of the clergy and laymen, subscribed the act of union, as it had been ratified in the council of Florence. On the twelfth of December, the two nations, in the church of St. Sophia, joined in the communion of sacrifice and prayer ; and the names of the two pontiffs were solemnly commemorated ; the names of Nicholas the Fifth, the vicar of Christ, and of the patriarch Gregory, who had been driven into exile by a rebellious people.

False union
of the two
churches,
A. D. 1453,
Dec. 12.

But the dress and language of the Latin priest who officiated at the altar were an object of scandal ; and a national historian acknowledges with a blush, that

Obstinacy
and fanati-
cism of the
Greeks.

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L.

none of his countrymen, not the emperor himself, were sincere in this national conformity. During the winter that preceded the Turkish conquest, the nation was distracted by an epidemical phrensy of religious discord; and the season of Lent, the approach of Easter, instead of breathing charity and love, served only to fortify the obstinacy and influence of the zealots. No sooner had the church of St. Sophia been polluted by the Latin sacrifice, than it was deserted by the clergy and people; and a vast and gloomy silence prevailed in that venerable dome, which had so often smoked with a cloud of incense, blazed with innumerable lights, and resounded with the voice of prayer and thanksgiving. The Latins were the most odious of heretics and infidels; and the first minister of the empire, the great duke, was heard to declare, that he had rather behold in Constantinople the turban of Mahomet than the pope's tiara or a cardinal's hat. A sentiment so unworthy of Christians and patriots was familiar and fatal to the Greeks; and the emperor was deprived of the affection and support of his subjects.

Siege of
Constantinople by
Mahomet II.
A. D. 1453,
April 6—
May 29.

Of the triangle which composes the figure of Constantinople, the two sides along the sea were made inaccessible to an enemy; the Propontis by nature, and the harbour by art. Between the two waters, the basis of the triangle, the land side was protected by a double wall, and a deep ditch of the depth of one hundred feet. Against this line of fortification, which Phranza, an eye-witness, prolongs to the measure of six miles *, the Ottomans directed their principal attack; and the emperor, after distributing the service and command of the most perilous stations, undertook the defence of the external wall. In the first days of the siege, the Greek soldiers descended into the ditch,

* The six miles of Phranza do not exceed four English miles (D'Anville, *Measures Itinéraires*, p. 61. 123, &c.)

or sallied into the field ; but they soon discovered, that, in the proportion of their numbers, one Christian was of more value than twenty Turks : and, after these bold preludes, they were prudently content to maintain the rampart with their missile weapons. Nor should this prudence be accused of pusillanimity. The nation was indeed pusillanimous and base ; but the last Constantine deserves the name of a hero : his noble band of volunteers was inspired with Roman virtue ; and the foreign auxiliaries supported the honour of the Western chivalry. The incessant volleys of lances and arrows were accompanied with the smoke, the sound, and the fire of their musketry and cannon. Their small arms discharged at the same time either five, or even ten, balls of lead, of the size of a walnut ; and, according to the closeness of the ranks and the force of the powder, several breast-plates and bodies were transpierced by the same shot. But the Turkish approaches were soon sunk in trenches or covered with ruins. Each day added to the science of the Christians ; but their inadequate stock of gunpowder was wasted in the operations of each day. Their ordnance was not powerful, either in size or number ; and if they possessed some heavy cannon, they feared to plant them on the walls, lest the aged structure should be shaken and overthrown by the explosion. The same destructive secret had been revealed to the Moslems ; by whom it was employed with the superior energy of zeal, riches, and despotism. The great cannon of Mahomet has been separately noticed ; an important and visible object in the history of the times : but that enormous engine was flanked by two fellows almost of equal magnitude ; the long order of the Turkish artillery was pointed against the walls ; fourteen batteries thundered at once on the most accessible places ; and of one of these it is ambiguously expressed, that it was mounted

CHAP. with one hundred and thirty guns, or that it discharged one hundred and thirty bullets. Yet, in the power and activity of the sultan, we may discern the infancy of the new science. Under a master who counted the moments, the great cannon could be loaded and fired no more than seven times in one day. The heated metal unfortunately burst ; several workmen were destroyed ; and the skill of an artist was admired, who bethought himself of preventing the danger and the accident, by pouring oil, after each explosion, into the mouth of the cannon.

Attack and
defence.

The first random shots were productive of more sound than effect ; and it was by the advice of a Christian that the engineers were taught to level their aim against the two opposite sides of the salient angles of a bastion. However imperfect, the weight and repetition of the fire made some impression on the walls ; and the Turks, pushing their approaches to the edge of the ditch, attempted to fill the enormous chasm, and to build a road to the assault. Innumerable fascines, and hogsheads, and trunks of trees, were heaped on each other ; and such was the impetuosity of the throng, that the foremost and the weakest were pushed headlong down the precipice, and instantly buried under the accumulated mass. To fill the ditch was the toil of the besiegers ; to clear away the rubbish was the safety of the besieged ; and, after a long and bloody conflict, the web that had been woven in the day was still unravelled in the night. The next resource of Mahomet was the practice of mines : but the soil was rocky ; in every attempt he was stopped and undermined by the Christian engineers ; nor had the art been yet invented of replenishing those subterraneous passages with gunpowder, and blowing whole towers and cities into the air. A circumstance that distinguishes the siege of Constantinople, is the reunion of the ancient and

modern artillery. The cannon were intermingled with the mechanical engines for casting stones and darts; the bullet and the battering-ram were directed against the same walls; nor had the discovery of gunpowder superseded the use of the liquid and unextinguishable fire. A wooden turret of the largest size was advanced on rollers: this portable magazine of ammunition and fascines was protected by a three-fold covering of bulls' hides: incessant volleys were securely discharged from the loop-holes; in the front, three doors were contrived for the alternate sally and retreat of the soldiers and workmen. They ascended by a staircase to the upper platform, and as high as the level of that platform a scaling-ladder could be raised by pulleys to form a bridge, and grapple with the adverse rampart. By these various arts of annoyance, some as new as they were pernicious to the Greeks, the tower of St. Romanus was at length overturned: after a severe struggle, the Turks were repulsed from the breach, and interrupted by darkness; but they trusted, that with the return of light they should renew the attack with fresh vigour and decisive success. Of this pause of action, this interval of hope, each moment was improved by the activity of the emperor and Justiniani, who passed the night on the spot, and urged the labours which involved the safety of the church and city. At the dawn of day, the impatient sultan perceived, with astonishment and grief, that his wooden turret had been reduced to ashes: the ditch was cleared and restored; and the tower of St. Romanus was again strong and entire. He deplored the failure of his design; and uttered a profane exclamation, that the word of the thirty-seven thousand prophets should not have compelled him to believe, that such a work, in so short a time, could have been accomplished by the infidels.

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Succour and
victory of
four ships.

The generosity of the Christian princes was cold and tardy ; but in the first apprehension of a siege, Constantine had negotiated, in the isles of the Archipelago, the Morea, and Sicily, the most indispensable supplies. As early as the beginning of April, five great ships, equipped for merchandise and war, would have sailed from the harbour of Chios, had not the wind blown obstinately from the north. One of these ships bore the Imperial flag ; the remaining four belonged to the Genoese ; and they were laden with wheat and barley, with wine, oil, and vegetables, and, above all, with soldiers and mariners, for the service of the capital. After a tedious delay, a gentle breeze, and, on the second day, a strong gale from the south, carried them through the Hellespont and the Propontis : but the city was already invested by sea and land ; and the Turkish fleet, at the entrance of the Bosphorus, was stretched from shore to shore, in the form of a crescent, to intercept, or at least to repel, these bold auxiliaries. The reader who has present to his mind the geographical picture of Constantinople will conceive and admire the greatness of the spectacle. The five Christian ships continued to advance with joyful shouts, and a full press both of sails and oars, against a hostile fleet of three hundred vessels ; and the rampart, the camp, the coasts of Europe and Asia, were lined with innumerable spectators, who anxiously awaited the event of this momentous succour. At the first view that event could not appear doubtful ; the superiority of the Moslems was beyond all measure or account ; and, in a calm, their numbers and valour must inevitably have prevailed. But their hasty and imperfect navy had been created, not by the genius of the people, but by the will of the sultan : in the height of their prosperity, the Turks have acknowledged, that if God had given them the earth, he had left the sea to the infidels ;

and a series of defeats, a rapid progress of decay, has established the truth of their modest confession. Except eighteen galleys of some force, the rest of their fleet consisted of open boats, rudely constructed and awkwardly managed, crowded with troops, and destitute of cannon ; and since courage arises in a great measure from the consciousness of strength, the bravest of the Janizaries might tremble on a new element. In the Christian squadron, five stout and lofty ships were guided by skilful pilots, and manned with the veterans of Italy and Greece, long practised in the arts and perils of the sea. Their weight was directed to sink or scatter the weak obstacles that impeded their passage : their artillery swept the waters : their liquid fire was poured on the heads of the adversaries, who, with the design of boarding, presumed to approach them ; and the winds and waves are always on the side of the ablest navigators. In this conflict, the Imperial vessel, which had been almost overpowered, was rescued by the Genoese ; but the Turks, in a distant and closer attack, were twice repulsed with considerable loss. Mahomet himself sat on horseback on the beach, to encourage their valour by his voice and presence, by the promise of reward, and by fear, more potent than the fear of the enemy. The passions of his soul, and even the gestures of his body, seemed to imitate the actions of the combatant ; and, as if he had been the lord of nature, he spurred his horse with a fearless and impotent effort into the sea. His loud reproaches, and the clamours of the camp, urged the Ottomans to a third attack, more fatal and bloody than the two former ; and I must repeat, though I cannot credit, the evidence of Phranza, who affirms from their own mouth, that they lost above twelve thousand men in the slaughter of the day. They fled in disorder to the shores of Europe and Asia, while the Christian

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squadron, triumphant and unhurt, steered along the Bosphorus, and securely anchored within the chain of the harbour. In the confidence of victory, they boasted that the whole Turkish power must have yielded to their arms; but the admiral, or captain bashaw, found some consolation for a painful wound in his eye, by representing that accident as the cause of his defeat. Baltha Ogli was a renegade of the race of the Bulgarian princes: his military character was tainted with the unpopular vice of avarice; and under the despotism of the prince or people, misfortune is a sufficient evidence of guilt. His rank and services were annihilated by the displeasure of Mahomet. In the royal presence, the captain bashaw was extended on the ground by four slaves, and received one hundred strokes with a golden rod: his death had been pronounced; and he adored the clemency of the sultan, who was satisfied with the milder punishment of confiscation and exile. The introduction of this supply revived the hopes of the Greeks, and accused the supineness of their western allies. Amidst the deserts of Anatolia and the rocks of Palestine, the millions of the crusades had buried themselves in a voluntary and inevitable grave; but the situation of the Imperial city was strong against her enemies, and accessible to her friends; and a rational and moderate armament of the maritime states might have saved the relics of the Roman name, and maintained a Christian fortress in the heart of the Ottoman empire. Yet this was the sole and feeble attempt for the deliverance of Constantinople: the more distant powers were insensible of its danger; and the ambassador of Hungary, or at least of Huniades, resided in the Turkish camp, to remove the fears, and to direct the operations, of the sultan.

Mahomet
transports
his navy
over land,

It was difficult for the Greeks to penetrate the secret of the divan; yet the Greeks are persuaded,

that a resistance, so obstinate and surprising, had fatigued the perseverance of Mahomet. He began to meditate a retreat, and the siege would have been speedily raised, if the ambition and jealousy of the second vizir had not opposed the perfidious advice of Calil Bashaw, who still maintained a secret correspondence with the Byzantine court. The reduction of the city appeared to be hopeless, unless a double attack could be made from the harbour as well as from the land : but the harbour was inaccessible ; an impenetrable chain was now defended by eight large ships, more than twenty of a smaller size, with several galleys and sloops ; and, instead of forcing this barrier, the Turks might apprehend a naval sally, and a second encounter in the open sea. In this perplexity, the genius of Mahomet conceived and executed a plan of a bold and marvellous cast, of transporting by land his lighter vessels and military stores from the Bosphorus into the higher part of the harbour. The distance is about ten miles ; the ground is uneven, and was overspread with thickets ; and, as the road must be opened behind the suburb of Galata, their free passage or total destruction must depend on the option of the Genoese. But these selfish merchants were ambitious of the favour of being the last devoured ; and the deficiency of art was supplied by the strength of obedient myriads. A level way was covered with a broad platform of strong and solid planks ; and to render them more slippery and smooth, they were anointed with the fat of sheep and oxen. Fourscore light galleys and brigantines, of fifty and thirty oars, were disembarked on the Bosphorus shore ; arranged successively on rollers ; and drawn forwards by the force of men and pulleys. Two guides or pilots were stationed at the helm, and the prow, of each vessel ; the sails were unfurled to the winds ; and the labour was cheered by song and

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acclamation. In the course of a single night, this Turkish fleet painfully climbed the hill, steered over the plain, and was launched from the declivity into the shallow waters of the harbour, far above the molestation of the deeper vessels of the Greeks. The real importance of this operation was magnified by the consternation and confidence which it inspired : but the notorious, unquestionable fact was displayed before the eyes, and is recorded by the pens, of the two nations. A similar stratagem had been repeatedly practised by the ancients ; the Ottoman galleys (I must again repeat) should be considered as large boats ; and, if we compare the magnitude and the distance, the obstacles and the means, the boasted miracle has perhaps been equalled by the industry of our own times. As soon as Mahomet had occupied the upper harbour with a fleet and army, he constructed, in the narrowest part, a bridge, or rather mole, of fifty cubits in breadth, and one hundred in length ; it was formed of casks and hogsheads ; joined with rafters linked with iron, and covered with a solid floor. On this floating battery, he planted one of his largest cannon, while the fourscore galleys, with troops and scaling-ladders, approached the most accessible side, which had formerly been stormed by the Latin conquerors. The indolence of the Christians has been accused for not destroying these unfinished works ; but their fire, by a superior fire, was controlled and silenced ; nor were they wanting in a nocturnal attempt to burn the vessels as well as the bridge of the sultan. His vigilance prevented their approach ; their foremost galliots were sunk or taken ; forty youths, the bravest of Italy and Greece, were inhumanly massacred at his command ; nor could the emperor's grief be assuaged by the just though cruel retaliation, of exposing from the walls the heads of two hundred and sixty Musulman captives. After a

siege of forty days, the fate of Constantinople could no longer be averted. The diminutive garrison was exhausted by a double attack : the fortifications, which had stood for ages against hostile violence, were dismantled on all sides by the Ottoman cannon : many breaches were opened ; and near the gate of St. Romanus, four towers had been levelled with the ground. For the payment of his feeble and mutinous troops, Constantine was compelled to despoil the churches, with the promise of a fourfold restitution ; and his sacrilege offered a new reproach to the enemies of the union. A spirit of discord impaired the remnant of the Christian strength : the Genoese and Venetian auxiliaries asserted the pre-eminence of their respective service ; and Justiniani and the great duke, whose ambition was not extinguished by the common danger, accused each other of treachery and cowardice.

During the siege of Constantinople, the words of peace and capitulation had been sometimes pronounced ; and several embassies had passed between the camp and the city. The Greek emperor was humbled by adversity, and would have yielded to any terms compatible with religion and royalty. The Turkish sultan was desirous of sparing the blood of his soldiers ; still more desirous of securing for his own use the Byzantine treasures ; and he accomplished a sacred duty in presenting to the *Gabours* the choice of circumcision, of tribute, or of death. The avarice of Mahomet might have been satisfied with an annual sum of one hundred thousand ducats ; but his ambition grasped the capital of the East : to the prince he offered a rich equivalent, to the people a free toleration, or a safe departure : but after some fruitless treaty, he declared his resolution of finding either a throne, or a grave, under the walls of Constantinople. A sense of honour, and the fear of universal reproach, forbade Palæologus to resign the city

Preparations of the
Turks for
the general
assault,
May 26.

CHAP. into the hands of the Ottomans ; and he determined
L. to abide the last extremities of war. Several days
were employed by the sultan in the preparations of the assault ; and a respite was granted by his favourite science of astrology, which had fixed on the twenty-ninth of May as the fortunate and fatal hour. On the evening of the twenty-seventh, he issued his final orders ; assembled in his presence the military chiefs ; and dispersed his heralds through the camp to proclaim the duty, and the motives, of the perilous enterprise. Fear is the first principle of a despotic government ; and his menaces were expressed in the Oriental style, that the fugitives and deserters, had they the wings of a bird, should not escape from his inexorable justice. The greatest part of his bashaws and Janizaries were the offspring of Christian parents : but the glories of the Turkish name were perpetuated by successive adoption ; and in the gradual change of individuals, the spirit of a legion, a regiment, or an *oda*, is kept alive by imitation and discipline. In this holy warfare, the Moslems were exhorted to purify their minds with prayer, their bodies with seven ablutions ; and to abstain from food till the close of the ensuing day. A crowd of dervishes visited the tents, to instil the desire of martyrdom, and the assurance of spending an immortal youth amidst the rivers and gardens of paradise, and in the embraces of the black-eyed virgins. Yet Mahomet principally trusted to the efficacy of temporal and visible rewards. A double pay was promised to the victorious troops. “ The city and the buildings,” said Mahomet, “ are mine ; but I resign to your valour the captives and the spoil, the treasures of gold and beauty : be rich and be happy. Many are the provinces of my empire : the intrepid soldier who first ascends the walls of Constantinople shall be rewarded with the government of the fairest and most wealthy ; and my

“gratitude shall accumulate his honours and fortunes
 “above the measure of his own hopes.” Such vari-
 ous and potent motives diffused among the Turks a
 general ardour, regardless of life, and impatient for
 action : the camp re-echoed with the Moslem shouts
 of “God is God, there is but one God, and Mahomet
 “is the apostle of God ;” and the sea and land, from
 Galata to the seven towers, were illuminated by the
 blaze of their nocturnal fires.

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Far different was the state of the Christians ; who, with loud and impotent complaints, deplored the guilt, or the punishment, of their sins. They accused the obstinacy of the emperor for refusing a timely surrender ; anticipated the horrors of their fate ; and sighed for the repose and security of the Turkish servitude. The noblest of the Greeks, and the bravest of the allies, were summoned to the palace to prepare them, on the evening of the twenty-eighth, for the duties and dangers of the general assault. The last speech of Palæologus was the funeral oration of the Roman empire : he promised, he conjured, and he vainly attempted to infuse the hope which was extinguished in his own mind. All was comfortless and gloomy. But the example of their prince, and the confinement of a siege, had armed these warriors with the courage of despair ; and the pathetic scene is described by the feelings of the historian Phranza, who was himself present at this mournful assembly. They wept, they embraced ; regardless of their families and fortunes, they devoted their lives ; and each commander, departing to his station, maintained all night a vigilant and anxious watch on the ramparts. The emperor, and some faithful companions, entered the dome of St. Sophia, which in a few hours was to be converted into a mosch ; and devoutly received, with tears and prayers, the sacrament of the holy communion. He reposed some moments in the palace, which

Last fare-
 well of the
 emperor
 and the
 Greeks.

CHAP. I. resounded with cries and lamentations; solicited the pardon of all whom he might have injured; and mounted on horseback to visit the guards, and explore the motions of the enemy. The distress and fall of the last Constantine are more glorious than the long prosperity of the Byzantine Cæsars.

The general
assault,
May 29.

In the confusion of darkness, an assailant may sometimes succeed: but in this great and general attack, the military judgment and astrological knowledge of Mahomet advised him to expect the morning, the memorable twenty-ninth of May, in the fourteen hundred and fifty-third year of the Christian æra. The preceding night had been strenuously employed: the troops, the cannon, and the fascines, were advanced to the edge of the ditch, which in many parts presented a smooth and level passage to the breach; and his fourscore galleys almost touched with the prows and their scaling ladders the less defensible walls of the harbour. Under pain of death, silence was enjoined; but the physical laws of motion and sound are not obedient to discipline or fear; each individual might suppress his voice and measure his footsteps; but the march and labour of thousands must inevitably produce a strange confusion of dissonant clamours, which reached the ears of the watchmen of the towers. At day-break, without the customary signal of the morning gun, the Turks assaulted the city by sea and land; and the similitude of a twined or twisted thread has been applied to the closeness and continuity of their line of attack*. The foremost ranks consisted of the refuse of the host, a voluntary crowd who fought without order or command; of the feebleness of age or childhood, of peasants and vagrants, and of all who had joined the camp in the blind hope of plunder and martyrdom.

* Besides the 10,000 guards, and the sailors and marines, Ducas numbers in this general assault 250,000 Turks, both horse and foot.

The common impulse drove them onwards to the wall: the most audacious to climb were instantly precipitated: and not a dart, not a bullet, of the Christians, was idly wasted on the accumulated throng. But their strength and ammunition were exhausted in this laborious defence; the ditch was filled with the bodies of the slain; they supported the footsteps of their companions; and of this devoted vanguard the death was more serviceable than the life. Under their respective bashaws and sanjaks, the troops of Anatolia and Romania were successively led to the charge: their progress was various and doubtful; but, after a conflict of two hours, the Greeks still maintained, and improved, their advantage; and the voice of the emperor was heard, encouraging his soldiers to achieve, by a last effort, the deliverance of their country. In that fatal moment, the Janizaries arose, fresh, vigorous, and invincible. The sultan himself on horseback, with an iron mace in his hand, was the spectator and judge of their valour: he was surrounded by ten thousand of his domestic troops, whom he reserved for the decisive occasions; and the tide of battle was directed and impelled by his voice and eye. His numerous ministers of justice were posted behind the line, to urge, to restrain, and to punish: and if danger was in the front, shame and inevitable death were in the rear, of the fugitives. The cries of fear and of pain were drowned in the martial music of drums, trumpets, and attaballs; and experience has proved, that the mechanical operation of sounds, by quickening the circulation of the blood and spirits, will act on the human machine more forcibly than the eloquence of reason and honour. From the lines, the galleys, and the bridge, the Ottoman artillery thundered on all sides; and the camp and city, the Greeks, and the Turks, were involved in a cloud of

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L.

smoke, which could only be dispelled by the final deliverance or destruction of the Roman empire. The single combats of the heroes of history or fable amuse our fancy and engage our affections: the skilful evolutions of war may inform the mind, and improve a necessary, though pernicious, science; but, in the uniform and odious pictures of a general assault, all is blood, and horror, and confusion; nor shall I strive, at the distance of three centuries and a thousand miles, to delineate a scene of which there could be no spectators, and of which the actors themselves were incapable of forming any just or adequate idea. -

The immediate loss of Constantinople may be ascribed to the bullet, or arrow, which pierced the gauntlet of John Justiniani. The sight of his blood, and the exquisite pain, appalled the courage of the chief, whose arms and counsels were the firmest rampart of the city. As he withdrew from his station in quest of a surgeon, his flight was perceived and stopped by the indefatigable emperor. "Your wound," exclaimed Palæologus, is slight; the danger is pressing; your presence is necessary; and whither will you retire?" "I will retire," said the trembling Genoese, "by the same road which God has opened to the Turks;" and at these words he hastily passed through one of the breaches of the inner wall. By this pusillanimous act, he stained the honours of a military life; and the few days which he survived in Galata, or the isle of Chios, were embittered by his own and the public reproach. His example was imitated by the greatest part of the Latin auxiliaries, and the defence began to slacken when the attack was pressed with redoubled vigour. The number of the Ottomans was fifty, perhaps a hundred, times superior to that of the Christians; the double walls were reduced by

the cannon to a heap of ruins: in a circuit of several miles, some places must be found more easy of access, or more feebly guarded: and if the besiegers could penetrate in a single point, the whole city was irrecoverably lost. The first who deserved the sultan's reward was Hassan the Janizary, of gigantic stature and strength. With his scimitar in one hand, and his buckler in the other, he ascended the outward fortification: of the thirty Janizaries, who were emulous of his valour, eighteen perished in the bold adventure. Hassan and his twelve companions had reached the summit; the giant was precipitated from the rampart; he rose on one knee, and was again oppressed by a shower of darts and stones. But his success had proved that the achievement was possible: the walls and towers were instantly covered with a swarm of Turks; and the Greeks, now driven from the vantage ground, were overwhelmed by increasing multitudes. Amidst these multitudes, the emperor *, who accomplished all the duties of a general and a soldier, was long seen, and finally lost. The nobles, who fought round his person, sustained, till their last breath, the honourable names of Palæologus and Cantacuzene: his mournful exclamation was heard, "Cannot there be found a Christian to cut off my head?" and his last fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the infidels. The prudent despair of Constantine cast away the purple: amidst the tumult he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of

CHAP.
L

Death of the
emperor
Constantine
Palæologus.

* Ducas kills him with two blows of Turkish soldiers; Chalcocondyles wounds him in the shoulder, and then tramples him in the gate. The grief of Phranza carrying him among the enemy, escapes from the precise image of his death; but we may, without flattery, apply these noble lines of Dryden:

As to Sebastian, let them search the field;
And where they find a mountain of the slain,
Send one to climb, and looking down beneath,
There they will find him at his manly length,
With his face up to heaven, in that red monument
Which his good sword had digged.

CHAP.
L.

Loss of the
city and
empire.

The Turks
enter and
pillage Con-
stantinople.

the slain. After his death, resistance and order were no more: the Greeks fled towards the city; and many were pressed and stifled in the narrow pass of the gate of St. Romanus. The victorious Turks rushed through the breaches of the inner wall; and as they advanced into the streets, they were soon joined by their brethren, who had forced the gate Phenar, on the side of the harbour. In the first heat of their pursuit, about two thousand Christians were put to the sword; but avarice soon prevailed over cruelty; and the victors acknowledged, that they should immediately have given quarter, if the valour of the emperor and his chosen bands had not prepared them for a similar opposition in every part of the capital. It was thus, after a siege of fifty-three days, that Constantinople, which had defied the power of Chosroes, the Chagan, and the caliphs, was irretrievably subdued by the arms of Mahomet the Second. Her empire only had been subverted by the Latins: her religion was trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors.

The tidings of misfortune fly with a rapid wing; yet such was the extent of Constantinople, that the more distant quarters might prolong some moments the happy ignorance of their ruin. But in the general consternation, in the feelings of selfish or social anxiety, in the tumult and thunder of the assault, a *sleepless* night and morning must have elapsed: nor can I believe that many Grecian ladies were awakened by the Janizaries from a sound and tranquil slumber. On the assurance of the public calamity, the houses and convents were instantly deserted; and the trembling inhabitants flocked together in the streets, like a herd of timid animals; as if accumulated weakness could be productive of strength, or in the vain hope, that amid the crowd each individual might be safe and invisible. From every part of the

capital, they flowed into the church of St. Sophia : CHAP. L.
 in the space of an hour, the sanctuary, the choir, the
 nave, the upper and lower galleries, were filled with
 the multitude of fathers and husbands, of women and
 children, of priests, monks, and religious virgins :
 the doors were barred on the inside, and they sought
 protection from the sacred dome. The doors were
 broken with axes ; and as the Turks encoun- Captivity of
the Greeks.
 tered no resistance, their bloodless hands were em-
 ployed in selecting and securing the multitude of
 their prisoners. Youth, beauty, and the appearance
 of wealth, attracted their choice ; and the right of
 property was decided among themselves by a prior
 seizure, by personal strength, and by the authority of
 command. In the space of an hour, the male cap-
 tives were bound with cords, the females with their
 veils and girdles. The senators were linked with
 their slaves ; the prelates with the porters of the
 church ; and the young men of a plebeian class with
 noble maids, whose faces had been invisible to the
 sun and their nearest kindred. In this common
 captivity, the ranks of society were confounded ; the
 ties of nature were cut asunder ; and the inexorable
 soldier was careless of the father's groans, the tears
 of the mother, and the lamentations of the children.
 Of these unfortunate Greeks, of these domestic ani-
 mals, whole strings were rudely driven through the
 streets ; and as the conquerors were eager to return
 for more prey, their trembling pace was quickened
 with menaces and blows. At the same hour, a si-
 milar rapine was exercised in all the churches and
 monasteries, in all the palaces and habitations of the
 capital ; nor could any place, however sacred or se-
 questered, protect the persons or the property of the
 Greeks. Above sixty thousand of this devoted people
 were transported from the city to the camp and fleet ;
 exchanged or sold according to the caprice or interest

CHAP.
L.

of their masters, and dispersed in remote servitude through the provinces of the Ottoman empire. Among these we may notice some remarkable characters. The historian Phranza, first chamberlain and principal secretary, was involved with his family in the common lot. After suffering four months the hardships of slavery, he recovered his freedom; in the ensuing winter he ventured to Adrianople, and ransomed his wife from the *mir bashi* or master of horse; but his two children, in the flower of youth and beauty, had been seized for the use of Mahomet himself. The daughter of Phranza died in the seraglio; his son, in the fifteenth year of his age, preferred death to infamy, and was stabbed by the hand of the royal lover. A deed thus inhuman cannot surely be expiated by the taste and liberality with which he released a Grecian matron and her two daughters, on receiving a Latin ode from Philelphus, who had chosen a wife in that noble family. The pride or cruelty of Mahomet would have been most sensibly gratified by the capture of a Roman legate; but the dexterity of Cardinal Isidore eluded the search, and he escaped from Galata in a plebeian habit. The chain and entrance of the outward harbour was still occupied by the Italian ships of merchandise and war. They had signalized their valour in the siege: they embraced the moment of retreat, while the Turkish mariners were dissipated in the pillage of the city. When they hoisted sail, the beach was covered with a suppliant and lamentable crowd: but the means of transportation were scanty: the Venetians and Genose selected their countrymen; and notwithstanding the fairest promises of the sultan, the inhabitants of Galata evacuated their houses, and embarked with their most precious effects.

* See Phranza, l. iii. c. 20, 21.

In the fall and the sack of great cities, an historian is condemned to repeat the tale of uniform calamity: the same effects must be produced by the same passions; and when those passions may be indulged without control, small, alas! is the difference between civilized and savage man. Amidst the vague exclamations of bigotry and hatred, the Turks are not accused of a wanton or immoderate effusion of Christian blood: but according to their maxims (the maxims of antiquity) the lives of the vanquished were forfeited; and the legitimate reward of the conqueror was derived from the service, the sale, or the ransom, of his captives of both sexes. The wealth of Constantinople had been granted by the sultan to his victorious troops; and the rapine of an hour is more productive than the industry of years. But as no regular division was attempted of the spoil, the respective shares were not determined by merit: and the rewards of valour were stolen away by the followers of the camp, who had declined the toil and danger of the battle. The narrative of their depredations could not afford either amusement or instruction; the total amount, in the last poverty of the empire, has been valued at four millions of ducats; and of this sum a small part was the property of the Venetians, the Genoese, the Florentines, and the merchants of Ancona. Of these foreigners, the stock was improved in quick and perpetual circulation: but the riches of the Greeks were displayed in the idle ostentation of palaces and wardrobes, or deeply buried in treasures of ingots and old coin, lest it should be demanded of their hands for the defence of their country. The profanation and plunder of the monasteries and churches excited the most tragic complaints. The dome at St. Sophia was despoiled of the oblations of ages. After the divine images had been stripped of all that could be valuable to a

CHAP.
L.Amount of
the spoil.

CHAP. L. profane eye, the canvas, or the wood, was torn, or broken, or burnt, or trod under foot, or applied, in the stables, or the kitchen, to the vilest uses. The Byzantine libraries were destroyed or scattered in the general confusion; one hundred and twenty thousand manuscripts are said to have disappeared*; ten volumes might be purchased for a single ducat; and the same ignominious price included the whole works of Aristotle and Homer, the noblest productions of the science and literature of ancient Greece. We may reflect with pleasure, that an inestimable portion of our classic treasures was safely deposited in Italy; and that the mechanics of a German town had invented an art which derides the havoc of time and barbarism.

Mahomet II. visits the city, St. Sophia, the palace, &c.

From the first hour of the memorable twenty-ninth of May, disorder and rapine prevailed in Constantinople, till the eighth hour of the same day; when the sultan himself passed in triumph through the gate of St. Romanus. He was attended by his vizirs, bashaws, and guards, each of whom (says a Byzantine historian) was robust as Hercules, dexterous as Apollo, and equal in battle to any ten of the race of ordinary mortals. The conqueror gazed with satisfaction and wonder on the strange though splendid appearance of the domes and palaces, so dissimilar from the style of oriental architecture. In the hippodrome or *atmeidan*, his eye was attracted by the twisted column of the three serpents; and as a trial of his strength, he shattered with his iron mace or battle-axe the under-jaw of one of these monsters, which, in the eye of the Turks, were the idols or talismans of the city. At the principal door of St. Sophia, he alighted from his horse, and entered the

* See Ducas (c. 43), and an epistle, July 15, 1453, from Laurus Quirinus to pope Nicholas V. (Hody de Græcis, p. 192, from a MS. in the Cotton Library).

dome; and such was his jealous regard for that monument of his glory, that on observing a zealous Mussulman in the act of breaking the marble pavement, he admonished him with his scimitar, that, if the spoil and captives were granted to the soldiers, the public and private buildings had been reserved for the prince. By his command the metropolis of the Eastern church was transformed into a mosch. On the same day, or on the ensuing Friday, the *muezin*, or crier, ascended the most lofty turret, and proclaimed the *exan*, or public invitation in the name of God and his prophet; the imam preached; and Mahomet the Second performed the *namaz* of prayer and thanksgiving on the great altar, where the Christian mysteries had so lately been celebrated before the last of the Cæsars. From St. Sophia he proceeded to the august but desolate mansion of a hundred successors of the great Constantine, but which in a few hours had been stripped of the pomp of royalty. A melancholy reflection on the vicissitudes of human greatness forced itself on his mind; and he repeated an elegant distich of Persian poetry: "The spider has wove his web in the Imperial palace; and the owl hath sung her watch-song on the towers of Afrasiab."

Yet his mind was not satisfied, nor did the victory seem complete, till he was informed of the fate of Constantine; whether he had escaped, or been made prisoner, or had fallen in the battle. Two Janizaries claimed the honour and reward of his death: the body, under a heap of slain, was discovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his shoes; the Greeks acknowledged with tears the head of their late emperor; and, after exposing the bloody trophy, Mahomet bestowed on his rival the honours of a decent funeral. After his decease, Lucas Notaras, great duke, and first minister of the empire, was the

His behaviour to the
Greeks.

CHAP. most important prisoner. When he offered his per-
L. son and his treasures at the foot of the throne,
“ And why,” said the indignant sultan, “ did you
“ not employ those treasures in the defence of your
“ prince and country ?” “ They were yours,” an-
swered the slave ; “ God had reserved them for your
“ hands.” “ If he reserved them for me,” replied the
despot, “ how have you presumed to withhold them
“ so long by a fruitless and fatal resistance ?” The
great duke alleged the obstinacy of the strangers,
and some secret encouragement of the Turkish vizir ;
and from this perilous interview, he was at length
dismissed with the assurance of pardon and protec-
tion. Mahomet condescended to visit his wife, a
venerable princess, oppressed with sickness and grief ;
and his consolation for her misfortunes was in the
most tender strain of humanity and filial reverence.
A similar clemency was extended to the principal
officers of state, of whom several were ransomed at
his expense ; and during some days he declared him-
self the friend and father of the vanquished people.
But the scene was soon changed ; and before his de-
parture, the hippodrome streamed with the blood of
his noblest captives. His perfidious cruelty is exe-
crated by the Christians : they adorn with the colours
of heroic martyrdom the execution of the great duke
and his two sons ; and his death is ascribed to the
generous refusal of delivering his children to the
tyrant’s lust. Yet a Byzantine historian has dropped
an unguarded word of conspiracy, deliverance, and
Italian succour. Such treason may be glorious ; but
the rebel who bravely ventures, has justly forfeited,
his life : nor should we blame a conqueror for de-
stroying the enemies whom he can no longer trust.
On the eighteenth of June, the victorious sultan re-
turned to Adrianople ; and smiled at the base and
hollow embassies of the Christian princes, who viewed

their approaching ruin in the fall of the Eastern empire. CHAP.
L.

Constantinople had been left naked and desolate, without a prince or a people. But she could not be despoiled of the incomparable situation which marks her for the metropolis of a great empire; and the genius of the place will ever triumph over the accidents of time and fortune. Boursa and Adrianople, the ancient seats of the Ottomans, sunk into provincial towns; and Mahomet the Second established his own residence, and that of his successors, on the same commanding spot which had been chosen by Constantine*. The fortifications of Galata, which might afford shelter to the Latins, were prudently destroyed; but the damage of the Turkish cannon was soon repaired; and before the month of August, great quantities of lime had been burnt for the restoration of the walls of the capital. As the entire property of the soil and buildings, whether public or private, or profane or sacred, was now transferred to the conqueror, he first separated a space of eight furlongs from the point of the triangle for the establishment of his seraglio or palace. It is here, in the bosom of luxury, that the *grand signor* (as he has been emphatically named by the Italians) appears to reign over Europe and Asia; but his person on the shores of the Bosphorus may not always be secure from the insults of a hostile navy. In the new character of a mosch, the cathedral of St. Sophia was endowed with an ample revenue, crowned with lofty minarets, and surrounded with groves and fountains for the devotion and refreshment of the Moslems. The same model was imitated in the *jami* or royal

He re-
peoplea and
adorns Con-
stantinople.

* For the restitution of Constantinople and the Turkish foundations, see Cantemir (p. 102—109), Ducas (c. 42), with Thevenot, Tournefort, and the rest of our modern travellers. From a gigantic picture of the greatness, population, &c. of Constantinople and the Ottoman empire (*Abrégé de l'Histoire Ottomane*, tom. i. p. 16—21), we may learn, that in the year 1586, the Moslems were less numerous in the capital than the Christians, or even the Jews.

CHAP.
L.

moschs; and the first of these was built, by Mahomet himself, on the ruins of the church of the holy apostles and the tombs of the Greek emperors. On the third day after the conquest, the grave of Abu Ayub or Job, who had fallen in the first siege of the Arabs, was revealed in a vision; and it is before the sepulchre of the martyr that the new sultans are girded with the sword of empire. Constantinople no longer appertains to the Roman historian; nor shall I enumerate the civil and religious edifices that were profaned or erected by its Turkish masters: the population was speedily renewed; and before the end of September, five thousand families of Anatolia and Romania had obeyed the royal mandate, which enjoined them, under pain of death, to occupy their new habitations in the capital. The throne of Mahomet was guarded by the numbers and fidelity of his Moslem subjects: but his rational policy aspired to collect the remnant of the Greeks; and they returned in crowds as soon as they were assured of their lives, their liberties, and the free exercise of their religion. In the election and investiture of a patriarch, the ceremonial of the Byzantine court was revived and imitated. With a mixture of satisfaction and horror, they beheld the sultan on his throne; who delivered into the hands of Gennadius the crosier or pastoral staff, the symbol of his ecclesiastical office; who conducted the patriarch to the gate of the seraglio, presented him with a horse richly caparisoned, and directed the vizirs and bashaws to lead him to the palace which had been allotted for his residence. The churches of Constantinople were shared between the two religions: their limits were marked; and till it was infringed by Selim, the grandson of Mahomet, the Greeks enjoyed above sixty years the benefit of this equal partition. Encouraged by the ministers of the divan, who wished to elude the fanaticism of the

sultan, the Christian advocates presumed to allege that this division had been an act, not of generosity, but of justice; not a concession, but a compact; and that if one half of the city had been taken by storm, the other moiety had surrendered on the faith of a sacred capitulation. The original grant had indeed been consumed by fire: but the loss was supplied by the testimony of three aged Janizaries, who remembered the transaction; and their venal oaths are of more weight, in the opinion of Cantemir, than the positive and unanimous consent of the history of the times.

CHAP.
L.

The remaining fragments of the Greek kingdom in Europe and Asia I shall abandon to the Turkish arms; but the final extinction of the two last dynasties* which have reigned in Constantinople should terminate the decline and fall of the Roman Empire in the East. The despots of the Morea, Demetrius and Thomas, the two surviving brothers of the name of PALÆOLOGUS, were astonished by the death of the emperor Constantine, and the ruin of the monarchy. Hopeless of defence, they prepared, with the noble Greeks who adhered to their fortune, to seek a refuge in Italy, beyond the reach of the Ottoman thunder. Their first apprehensions were dispelled by the victorious sultan, who contented himself with a tribute of twelve thousand ducats: and while his ambition explored the continent and the islands in search of prey, he indulged the Morea in a respite of seven years. But this respite was a period of grief, discord, and misery. The *hexamilion*, the rampart of the Isthmus, so often raised and so often subverted, could not long be defended by three hundred Italian archers: the keys of Corinth were seized by the Turks:

Extinction
of the Im-
perial fami-
lies of Com-
nenus and
Palæologus.

* For the genealogy and fall of the Comneni of Trebizond, see Ducange (*Fam. Byzant.* p. 195); for the last Palæologi, the same accurate antiquarian (p. 244, 247, 248). The Palæologi of Montferrat were not extinct till the next century; but they had forgotten their Greek origin and kindred.

CHAP.
L.

Loss of the
Morea,
A.D. 1460;

they returned from their summer excursions with a train of captives and spoil; and the complaints of the injured Greeks were heard with indifference and disdain. The Albanians, a vagrant tribe of shepherds and robbers, filled the peninsula with rapine and murder; the two despots implored the dangerous and humiliating aid of a neighbouring bashaw; and when he had quelled the revolt, his lessons inculcated the rule of their future conduct. Neither the ties of blood, nor the stronger pressure of necessity, could reconcile or suspend their domestic quarrels. They ravaged each other's patrimony with fire and sword: the alms and succours of the West were consumed in civil hostility; and their power was only exerted in savage and arbitrary executions. The distress and revenge of the weaker rival invoked their supreme lord; and, in the season of maturity and revenge, Mahomet declared himself the friend of Demetrius, and marched into the Morea with an irresistible force. When he had taken possession of Sparta, "You are too weak," said the sultan, "to control this turbulent province: I will take your daughter to my bed; and you shall pass the remainder of your life in security and honour." Demetrius sighed and obeyed; surrendered his daughter and his castles; followed to Adrianople his sovereign and son; and received for his own maintenance, and that of his followers, a city in Thrace, and the adjacent isles of Imbros, Lemnos, and Samothrace. He was joined the next year by a companion of misfortune, the last of the COMNENIAN race, who, after the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, had founded a new empire on the coast of the Black Sea*. In the progress of his Anatolian conquests, Mahomet invested with a fleet and army the capital of David, who pre-

* See the loss or conquest of Trebizond in Chalcocondyles (l. ix. p. 263—266), Ducas (c. 45), Phranza (l. iii. c. 27), and Cantemir (p. 107).

sumed to style himself emperor of Trebizond ; and the negotiation was comprised in a short and peremptory question, “ Will you secure your life and treasures by resigning your kingdom ? or had you rather forfeit your kingdom, your treasures, and your life ? ” The feeble Comnenus was subdued by his own fears, and the example of a Mussulman neighbour, the prince of Sinope, who, on a similar summons, had yielded a fortified city with four hundred cannon and ten or twelve thousand soldiers. The capitulation of Trebizond was faithfully performed ; and the emperor, with his family, was transported to a castle in Romania ; but, on a slight suspicion of corresponding with the Persian king, David and the whole Comnenian race were sacrificed to the jealousy or avarice of the conqueror. Nor could the name of father long protect the unfortunate Demetrius from exile and confiscation : his abject submission moved the pity and contempt of the sultan : his followers were transplanted to Constantinople ; and his poverty was alleviated by a pension of fifty thousand aspers, till a monastic habit and a tardy death released Palæologus from an earthly master. It is not easy to pronounce whether the servitude of Demetrius or the exile of his brother Thomas be the most inglorious. On the conquest of the Morea, the despot escaped to Corfu, and from thence to Italy, with some naked adherents : his name entitled him to the hospitality of the Vatican ; and his misery was prolonged by a pension of six thousand ducats from the pope and cardinals. His two sons, Andrew and Manuel, were educated in Italy ; but the eldest, contemptible to his enemies and burdensome to his friends, was degraded by the baseness of his life and marriage. A title was his sole inheritance ; and that inheritance he successively sold to the kings of France

CHAP.

L.

of Trebi-
zond,
A. D. 1461.

CHAP. and Arragon *. During this transient prosperity,
 L. Charles the Eighth was ambitious of joining the empire of the East with the kingdom of Naples : in a public festival, he assumed the appellation and the purple of *Augustus* : the Greeks rejoiced, and the Ottoman already trembled at the approach of the French chivalry †. Manuel Palæologus, the second son, was tempted to revisit his native country : his return might be grateful, and could not be dangerous, to the Porte : he was maintained at Constantinople in safety and ease ; and an honourable train of Christians and Moslems attended him to the grave. He accepted from the sultan's liberality two beautiful females ; and his surviving son was lost in the habit and religion of a Turkish slave.

Grief and
 terror of
 Europe,
 A. D. 1453.

The importance of Constantinople was felt and magnified in its loss : the pontificate of Nicholas the Fifth, however peaceful and prosperous, was dishonoured by the fall of the Eastern empire ; and the grief and terror of the Latins revived, or seemed to revive, the old enthusiasm of the crusades. In one of the most distant countries of the West, Philip duke of Burgundy entertained, at Lisle in Flanders, an assembly of his nobles ; and the pompous pageants of the feast were skilfully adapted to their fancy and feelings ‡. In the midst of the banquet, a gigantic

* By an act dated A. D. 1494, Sept. 6, and lately transmitted from the archives of the Capitol to the royal library of Paris, the despot Andrew Palæologus, reserving the Morea, and stipulating some private advantages, conveys to Charles the Eighth, king of France, the empires of Constantinople and Trebizond (Spondanus, A. D. 1495, No. 2). M. de Foncemagne (*Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xvii. p. 539—578) has bestowed a Dissertation on this national title, of which he had obtained a copy from Rome.

† See Philippe de Comines (l. vii. c. 14), who reckons with pleasure the number of Greeks who were prepared to rise, sixty miles of an easy navigation, eighteen days' journey from Valona to Constantinople, &c. On this occasion the Turkish empire was saved by the policy of Venice.

‡ See the original feast in Oliver de la Marche (*Mémoires*, p. i. c. 29, 30), with the abstract and observations of M. de Sainte Palaye (*Mémoires sur la Chevalerie*, tom. i. P. iii. p. 182—185). The peacock and the pheasant were distinguished as royal birds.

Saracen entered the hall, leading a fictitious elephant, with a castle on his back ; a matron in a mourning robe, the symbol of religion, was seen to issue from the castle : she deplored her oppression, and accused the slowness of her champions : the principal herald of the golden fleece advanced, bearing on his fist a live pheasant, which, according to the rites of chivalry, he presented to the duke. At this extraordinary summons, Philip, a wise and aged prince, engaged his person and powers in the holy war against the Turks : his example was imitated by the barons and knights of the assembly : they swore to God, the Virgin, the ladies, and the *pheasant* ; and their particular vows were not less extravagant than the general sanction of their oath. But the performance was made to depend on some future and foreign contingency ; and during twelve years, till the last hour of his life, the duke of Burgundy might be scrupulously, and perhaps sincerely, on the eve of his departure. Had every breast glowed with the same ardour ; had the union of the Christians corresponded with their bravery ; had every country, from Sweden to Naples, supplied a just proportion of cavalry and infantry, of men and money, it is indeed probable that Constantinople would have been delivered, and that the Turks might have been chased beyond the Hellespont or the Euphrates. But the secretary of the emperor, who composed every epistle, and attended every meeting, *Æneas Sylvius* *, a statesman and orator, describes from his own experience the repugnant state and spirit of Christendom. “ It is a body,” says he, “ without a head ; a republic without laws or magistrates. The pope and the emperor may shine as “ lofty titles, as splendid images ; but *they* are unable

* In the year 1454 Spondanus has given, from *Æneas Sylvius*, a view of the state of Europe, enriched with his own observations. That valuable annalist, and the Italian Muratori, will continue the series of events from the year 1453 to 1481, the end of Mahomet's life, and of this History.

CHAP.
L.

“ to command, and none are willing to obey : every
“ state has a separate prince, and every prince has a
“ separate interest. What eloquence could unite so
“ many discordant and hostile powers under the same
“ standard ? Could they be assembled in arms, who
“ would dare to assume the office of general ? What
“ order could be maintained ?—what military disci-
“ pline ? Who would undertake to feed such an enor-
“ mous multitude ? Who would understand their va-
“ rious languages, or direct their stranger and incom-
“ patible manners ? What mortal could reconcile the
“ English with the French, Genoa with Arragon, the
“ Germans with the natives of Hungary and Bohe-
“ mia ? If a small number inlisted in the holy war,
“ they must be overthrown by the infidels ; if many,
“ by their own weight and confusion.” Yet the same
Æneas, when he was raised to the papal throne, under
the name of Pius the Second, devoted his life to the
prosecution of the Turkish war. In the council of
Mantua he excited some sparks of a false or feeble
enthusiasm ; but when the pontiff appeared at An-
cona, to embark in person with the troops, engage-
ments vanished in excuses : a precise day was ad-
journd to an indefinite term ; and his effective army
consisted of some German pilgrims, whom he was
obliged to disband with indulgences and alms. Re-
gardless of futurity, his successors and the powers of
Italy were involved in the schemes of present and
domestic ambition ; and the distance or proximity of
each object determined, in their eyes, its apparent
magnitude. A more enlarged view of their interest
would have taught them to maintain a defensive and
naval war against the common enemy ; and the sup-
port of Scanderbeg and his brave Albanians might
have prevented the subsequent invasion of the king-
dom of Naples. The siege and sack of Otranto by
the Turks diffused a general consternation ; and pope

Sixtus was preparing to fly beyond the Alps, when the storm was instantly dispelled by the death of Mahomet the Second, in the fifty-first year of his age. His lofty genius aspired to the conquest of Italy: he was possessed of a strong city and a capacious harbour; and the same reign might have been decorated with the trophies of the New and the ANCIENT ROME*.

CHAP.

L.

Death of
Mahomet II.
A. D. 1481,
May 3, or
July 2.

* As I am now taking an everlasting farewell of the Greek empire, I shall briefly mention the great collection of Byzantine writers, whose names and testimonies have been successively repeated in this work. The Greek presses of Aldus and the Italians were confined to the classics of a better age; and the first rude editions of Procopius, Agathias, Cedrenus, Zonaras, &c. were published by the learned diligence of the Germans. The whole Byzantine series (thirty-six volumes in folio) has gradually issued (A. D. 1643, &c.) from the royal press of the Louvre, with some collateral aid from Rome and Leipsic; but the Venetian edition (A. D. 1729), though cheaper and more copious, is not less inferior in correctness than in magnificence to that of Paris. The merits of the French editors are various; but the value of Anna Comnena, Cinnamus, Villehardouin, &c. is enhanced by the historical notes of Charles du Fresne du Cange. His supplemental works, the Greek Glossary, the Constantinopolis Christiana, the Familix Byzantinæ, diffuse a steady light over the darkness of the Lower Empire.

P. S.—It may perhaps be expected that I should assign my reasons for terminating the History at this period, and leaving unnoticed the remainder of the original work. To this I reply, in the *first* place, that the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet the Second is obviously the conclusion of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire; for at that period the last vestige of its dominion ceased to exist. Of the three last chapters of Mr. Gibbon, the 69th and 70th are almost wholly employed in relating the various contests in which the popes were engaged with the emperors of Germany on the one hand, or with the Roman people on the other. These contests, which took place during the twelfth and the four following centuries, (seven hundred or a thousand years after the extinction of the Western Empire), cannot surely be considered as forming a part of the subject which Mr. Gibbon's History was intended to embrace. They do indeed form a part of the History of the Pontificate; but they are in no degree connected with the successors of Trajan or the Antonines. In another point of view, the subject

CHAP. of these two chapters was interesting to our author ; but the
L. same circumstance induces me to decline their insertion. I

repeat once more, that the History of the Church is not
intended to form a part of the present publication.

The last chapter of Mr. Gibbon is of a different kind. It relates to the state of the ancient buildings at Rome ; to the causes which have hastened their decay, and the means by which part of them have been preserved. It was at one time my intention to insert this chapter ; but I afterwards considered that many years have passed since it was written, and great alterations have taken place during that period. Several learned antiquarians have expressed opinions different from those of Mr. Gibbon ; and, upon the whole, I am inclined to believe, that what our author has written on this subject is not calculated to convey any great degree of useful information.—*The Editor.*

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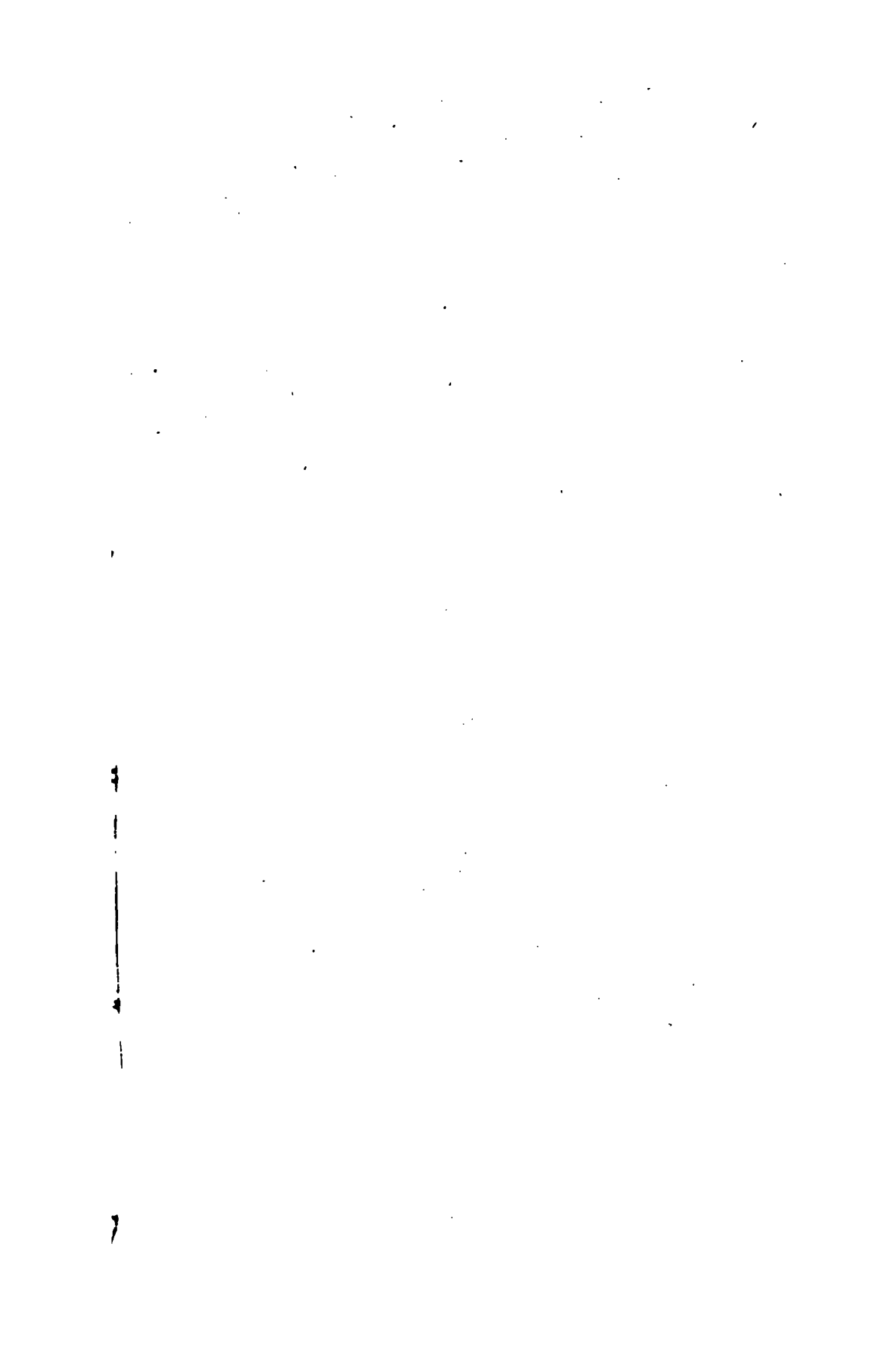
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